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No 5, 1 March 1991

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Several Views on Building Socialist Culture With Chinese Characteristics

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[Article by He Jingzhi; this is parts one and two of a three-part article; the third part, "On the Essential Insurance for Building Socialist Culture with Chinese Characteristics," will be carried in QIUSHI No. 6, 16 March 1991]

[Text] Recently, in the course of studying the basic theory of socialism, many comrades have integrated the realities of the cultural work of China in the new period and pondered and discussed the relevant problems of building socialist culture with Chinese characteristics. I myself am also conducting further study and exploration. This article will dwell on some immature views on three such issues—a historical review of cultural work in the new period, basic experiences in cultural work, and the necessary guarantee of building socialist culture with Chinese characteristics—with the aim of seeking advice from readers and comments and criticisms from comrades.

I. Historical Review of Cultural Work in the New Period

The past 10-odd years after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is a brand-new stage of development ushered in by the socialist revolution and construction, as well as a new historical period in which great achievements attracting worldwide attention have been scored. In this new historical period, the socialist cultural cause of our country has been carried forward and has forged ahead into the future and new and unprecedented development has been achieved. Moreover, it also stood a severe test in the course of overcoming the interference from the "left" and right, especially many challenges of bourgeois liberalization.

China's cultural cause sustained a catastrophe in the 10 years of the Great Cultural Revolution. After the smashing of the "gang of four," culture was emancipated. The cultural front exposed and criticized Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" crimes of cultural autocracy, vigorously broke the shackles of "two whatevers" after two years of political stagnation, enthusiastically made literature and art creations, and made vigorous contributions to advancing ideological emancipation and encouraging the people to advance toward the four modernizations. The successful holding of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was a great historic turning point. It marked the reestablishment of the Marxist ideological line by our party after bringing order out of chaos and under the new historical conditions, marked the shifting of the focus of the work of whole party and whole country with economic construction as the center, and opened a new chapter in the development of the socialist cultural cause of our country. The Fourth Congress of Literature and Art Workers held in October 1979 was a grand gathering to

mobilize literature and art workers to march triumphantly, and the congratulatory speech given by Comrade Deng Xiaoping on behalf of the party Central Committee at the congress is a historic document that points out the direction of cultural development in the new period. Over the past 10-odd years, under the guidance of the basic line and principles set by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee, China has scored new historic achievements in the development of cultural and art causes in many aspects:

The first one was that the party and state vigorously improved their leadership over the cultural cause. On the foundation of scientifically summing up the historical experiences and in the practice of leading cultural work in the new period, the central authorities promptly readjusted and developed the principle and policy of cultural and art work. For example, they substituted "literature and art serving the people and serving socialism" for literature and art serving politics, and regarded it as the general principle of cultural work; reiterated the policy of the "double hundred" [let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend] and clearly and definitely pointed out that, on the premise of not running counter to a socialist political orientation, not only can the different forms, styles, and academic viewpoints of literature and art freely compete, but also a hundred flowers are allowed to blossom in the ideological content of literature and art work. They also formulated a series of specific policies and regulations to make literature and art creations thrive and to develop mass cultural activities, worked out many specific policies and regulations to strengthen cultural exchanges between China and foreign countries, put forward a principle of the necessity of taking social benefit as the highest standard of spiritual production and of integrating social benefit with economic results, put forth the principle of carrying out reform of the cultural structure to meet the needs of reform of the economic structure and reform of the political structure, and so on. Such readjustment and development both mark a broader road to the development of the cultural cause as a whole and draw a clear demarcation line from capitalist cultural development in the orientation of fundamental development. At the same time, on the basis of the guiding idea that intellectuals of our country are part of the working class, the central authorities have completely implemented the policy toward intellectuals in the cultural realm, adopted practical measures to vigorously improve the treatment of cultural workers, and created favorable conditions for their work in many aspects in line with the requirements of the law of cultural development, thus greatly arousing the enthusiasm and creativeness of cultural and art workers.

A new situation of flourishing development has emerged in literature and art creations and theoretical study under the correct guidance of the party's cultural policy. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping affirmed in October 1983

while pointing out that the ideological front must not go in for spiritual pollution: "Many comrades have worked hard and done a large amount of useful work in the theoretical and academic realms. Unprecedented prosperity has emerged in literature and art and remarkable progress has been made in reflecting realistic life in depth and breadth and in the ability of art expression. A large number of outstanding works have appeared in all aspects, including novels, reportage, films, television play, modern plays, traditional opera, poems and songs, music, fine arts, dance, and folk art." Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the prosperity and development of the literature and art creations of our country and the active and thoroughgoing theoretical explorations in the cultural realm have reached a new unprecedented standard. What should be particularly pointed out is that, even when the trend of bourgeois liberalization thought ran rampant later, a group of writers and artists still adhered to the orientation of "serving two aspects" [serving the people and serving socialism], insisted on keeping close ties to the masses, absorbed poetic flavor and the inspiration of drawing or painting from the masses' great practice of embarking on the four modernizations and reform, and created many outstanding works full of the spirit of the times and warmly welcomed by the masses. A group of theoreticians still proceeded from the realities of building new socialist culture with Chinese characteristics, vigorously adhered to and developed Marxist literature and art theory, went into the special law and demands governing development of the socialist cultural cause of our country, unrelentingly opened up a new realm in theoretical study, and achieved new results.

In conjunction with this, the cultural and art work ranks were strong and developed. With their rich experience, many writers of the older generation gave play to their role as a link between past and future in cultural development in the new period and became the mainstay in combating the erroneous trend of thought. A large number of middle-aged cultural workers gradually marched toward maturity in creation and in theory, and became the backbone of cultural work in the new period with their actual strength of creations and theories. More and more young gifted writers and theoreticians from the grassroots rose in literary circles, one group after another, and became a vital and promising new force in the cultural cause. Although it experienced tortuosity and splitting up, this force is still full of vitality.

Mass cultural activities have ushered in a new stage of historic development. Spare-time mass literature creations, as well as creations and performances of the arts (including the fine arts, music, dance, drama, folk art forms, photography, and calligraphy) are popular and are developing in a thoroughgoing way in mines, rural areas, streets, troops, organs, and schools. Mass cultural study, book reading, scientific popularization, and knowledge emulation with nationality and revolutionary characteristics are rich and colorful, and a mass cultural network with the socialist characteristics of the times

spreading all over the urban and rural areas of the whole country has taken initial shape. Standing side by side with the professional cultural work, mass cultural activities have become half the sky of the socialist cultural cause in reality as well as in name.

Minority nationality culture and art have greatly progressed and developed. Literature and art creations of many minority nationalities have maintained and developed the characteristics of their own nationalities, a large number of nationwide influential outstanding writers and artists have appeared, a large number of outstanding works have won prizes throughout the country. Art performances, fine arts exhibitions, dress and personal adornment shows have unrelentingly evoked strong repercussions at home and abroad; some minority nationality areas have achieved eye-catching results in film and television shows, and an unprecedentedly lively situation in the popularization of cultural and scientific knowledge and in development of mass cultural activities in all minority- nationality areas has also emerged. The development of minority nationality culture and art occupies a more and more important position in the development of China's cultural and art cause as a whole.

In the context of opening to the outside world, China's cultural exchanges with foreign countries have also developed very greatly. Over the past 10-odd years, we have made new records in such areas as the translation and appraisal of foreign and academic works and extensive invitation of writers, artists, scholars, and cultural organizations of all countries in the world to China to sponsor all sorts of international cultural activities and academic discussion meetings. At the same time, we have sent a large number of writers, artists, scholars, and cultural organizations abroad to do research, visit, and give performances to vigorously create conditions for more and more of China's works to be translated and recommended to foreign countries. We have also created a new situation in participation in all kinds of international cultural and art contests and appraisal through many channels and won new world honor for China's culture.

Over the past 10-odd years, except for the development of the above-mentioned parts, other aspects of China's cultural cause as a whole have attained an unprecedented scale. For example, the unearthing, sorting out, and protection of cultural relics, exhibition, use, and exchanges of books, updating of all cultural apparatuses, transformation and building of all kinds of cultural facilities—particularly of more and more modern ones—have gone further than in the 30 years before the last 10-odd years. The rich content, comprehensiveness, large scale, and varied activities of the cultural cause as a whole are incomparable with the past.

Nevertheless, the development of the cultural cause of our country in the new period has never had smooth sailing. The new situation is fraught with new contradictions and tests. As people suffered much from the "left"

for a long time in the past, they easily lack sufficient vigilance against the rightist things while emancipating their ideology. Especially after the opening of the gate to the outside world, in the wake of a change in the international climate and under the "left" influence that still needs overcoming continuously, the trend of bourgeois liberalization thought is gradually multiplying and spreading in the cultural realm and the contradictions between adhering to the four cardinal principles and liberalization gradually becomes more and more acute and complicated. As early as in the period around 1980, there emerged a tiny number of works and views, represented by the film *Unrequited Love*, which vilified the socialist system and negated party leadership. In the spring and summer of 1981, Comrade Deng Xiaoping took a broad and long-term view and promptly pointed out the substance of the *Unrequited Love* issue and proposed that criticism of *Unrequited Love* must be conducted. The central authorities also held a forum of the ideological front. However, as a small number of influential comrades in the ideological realm separated and went different ways from the correct leadership of the party and the influence of the Western erroneous trend of thought was aggravated, the demands of the central authorities were not taken seriously and fulfilled. Conversely, by 1983, blind worship of the Western bourgeois modernist outlook on literature and art and the philosophy of literature and art and theoretical articles, the dissemination of abstract humanism, and the socialist theory of alienation had become a fashionable trend. At the same time, the evil wind of "doing everything for money's sake" blew into the cultural realm so that all sorts of vulgar and philistine things tended to spread. At the Second Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee in October 1983, on behalf of the central authorities, Comrade Deng Xiaoping proclaimed that "the ideological front cannot go in for spiritual pollution" and incisively pointed out that this "has a bearing on the fate and future of the party and state." In view of this, the central authorities also decided to hold a special conference to discuss problems of strengthening work on the ideological front. However, because individual leaders of the central authorities adopted a passive attitude toward the decision of the Second Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and because the trend of bourgeois liberalization thought had begun getting somewhere, the work of combating spiritual pollution quickly came to a premature end. When this situation developed at the end of 1984, at a meeting of the nationwide literature and art organizations under leadership of the party organization, there appeared the so-called "no mention of two things" and the negation of combating bourgeois liberalization and spiritual pollution. Henceforth, the trend of bourgeois liberalization thought further ran rampant in the cultural realm and, at the same time, the gate was open for the "structural immigration" of erroneous foreign bourgeois trends of thought, particularly in its Western form. At the beginning of 1987, the central authorities again made arrangements to combat bourgeois liberalization, but Comrade Zhao Ziyang adopted a passive

attitude toward the anti-liberalization principle so that the struggle was given up halfway through. Shielded, connived with, and supported by Comrade Zhao Ziyang, the trend of bourgeois liberalization thought ran more seriously wild.

After 1985, only a few individuals who stubbornly clung to bourgeois liberalization publicly disseminated their political propositions in theoretical articles, literature and art works, and speeches. These propositions ranged from the negation of the history of the Chinese nation to the negation of the revolutionary struggle led by the party, of the socialist system and party leadership, and of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the people's democratic dictatorship, and the proposal of "total Westernization" in the name of the so-called "absolute freedom." They thought that only the capitalist "blue civilization" could save China. Although the number of these things was small, they were intentionally praised, as the work *He Shang* [River Elegy] was praised to the skies and became a direct ideological source leading to the turmoil.

Bourgeois liberalization has caused very great confusion and produced serious effects. As a trend of political thought, it ran rampant in conjunction with a certain ideological and theoretical foundation. Following the censure of Marxist outlook in literature and art, Mao Zedong's thought on literature and art, and the orientation of "serving two aspects," "self-expression" and the "socialist theory of alienation" came into vogue, and certain works and articles that publicized decadent bourgeois values and the bourgeois outlook on life, the press, society, and history became popular. Depicting the realistic contemporary social life of our country as a fully gloomy and fantastic life, flaunting the turn-of-the-century feelings of insignificant struggle for existence and life, and even mocking our whole state and nation, all became targets that certain young writers pursued. For a time, this kind of thing filled newspapers, books, and platforms, vied with each other in leading the trend, and aggravated ideological confusion in literature and art circles and society.

The view and method of "playing with literature" and commercializing art production also became prevalent. Vulgar, philistine, repulsive, and obscene works that purely laid emphasis on the stimulation of sense organs with the aim of seeking profits quickly ran rampant. The "sexual trend" escalated unremittingly, and the understanding of literature and art and functions of education were belittled time and again. Prompted by money, newborn cultural brokers tried in every possible way to peddle and disseminate all sorts of pornographic and obscene books, magazines, and audio and video products, thus seriously disrupting the cultural market and cultural management, and also polluting society and the people's souls.

The general mood of the cultural realm was seriously sabotaged and cultural ranks seriously corroded. In the minor climate of the trend of liberalization thought

running wild, the cultural workers' necessary sense of responsibility for society was watered down, the phenomenon of cultural workers being divorced from life and the masses became more serious with each passing day, and the phenomenon of a small number of people considering themselves "intellectual aristocrats" high above the people, bent solely on profits and leading a corrupt life, gradually grew more and more. Especially under the influence of the major international climate, those representatives going in for liberalization were praised as men of the hour in literary circles. By the period when spring was changing into summer in 1989, those stubbornly adhering to the stand of liberalization, therefore, became the "elitists" of turmoil who engineered and organized it, and some of them were fostered by the party and the people. Gifted cultural workers distressingly went astray during the turmoil.

The central authorities adopted resolute measures to put down the counterrevolutionary rebellion, defended the fruits of the socialist revolution and construction, safeguarded the achievements of 10 years of reform and opening up, and enabled the cultural cause of our country to overcome serious confusion and to develop continuously and healthily along the correct track. Over the past year and more, under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin as the core and on the basis of the central authorities' principle of grasping rectification with one hand and prosperity with the other, the cultural front has done effective work. While doing a good job in checking and straightening out, it has strengthened party leadership over cultural work, and readjusted leadership groups of some important cultural departments and media positions; and it has organized cultural workers to study seriously the relevant principles and policies of the party and state, Marxist-Leninist literature and art theory, Mao Zedong's literature and art ideology, *Deng Xiaoping on Literature and Art*, and the basic theory of scientific socialism, carried out anti-bourgeois liberalization struggle and education, and straightened out some disrupted important ideological and theoretical issues, thus putting an end to serious ideological confusion in the cultural realm. The cultural front has vigorously rectified the cultural market, vigorously started the work of "wiping out pornography," and achieved remarkable results in restoring the normal order of the cultural market by gradually overcoming and resisting unhealthy trends and corrupt phenomena in the cultural realm. At the same time, many outstanding works have been published and performed and have been well received by the masses. A large number of new creations that display important revolutionary historical themes and the socialist spirit of the times and a large number of works that portray the melody of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and new people of socialism have been published one after another. The new healthy and flourishing scenes in motion picture and television screens, theaters, and literary creations have been well received by the masses. In the course of criticizing bourgeois liberalization and other erroneous trends of thought,

summing up the outstanding traditions of national culture, especially revolutionary culture, and studying and discussing many new subjects faced in the development of the socialist cultural cause, Marxist literature and art theory and Mao Zedong's literature and art ideology have been extensively disseminated and have radiated exuberant vitality. More and more cultural workers are rallying closely around the party cultural policy, and their enthusiasm and creativeness have been aroused. Cultural workers who once felt perplexed and hesitant have again come to understand the duties of the times, the people, and their own duties and plunged into creation and study. Full of vitality, a large number of young adult cultural workers are stepping into literary circles. An upsurge to help writers and artists plunge into the thick of life in an organized way has emerged in many provinces and municipalities. On the foundation of summing up experiences and lessons, relevant measures for reform of the cultural structure, relevant regulations of the cultural and economic policies, and certain urgently needed cultural laws and regulations are being deliberated and formulated. Comrade Li Peng pointed out in his government work report that the ideological and cultural fronts have really "taken a turn for the better." Although these results are merely preliminary ones, more arduous work is still needed. They, however, herald an even more flourishing new situation.

The advance of and tremendous achievements in the cultural cause of our country in the 10-odd years of the new period incontrovertibly prove the correctness of the party basic line and the correct leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Deng Xiaoping and Comrade Jiang Zemin as the core. The socialist cultural workers of our country can rely not only on their own forces to correct the "left" mistakes, but also to defeat the challenge of bourgeois liberalization. In the historical situation in which the current international communist movement is facing an unprecedentedly severe test, achievements and experiences in the development of the socialist cultural cause of our country are of important practical and profound historic significance.

II. Basic Experiences in Cultural Work

Looking back on the course of development of the cultural cause of our country since the new period, many experiences and lessons should be drawn from the achievements scored and the problems encountered. The following several main aspects of the basic experiences can be put forth:

1. It is necessary to have a grasp of the dialectical relations between two civilizations and to understand correctly the important role and functions of cultural work.

Marxism maintains that man's social being determines his consciousness; the development of spiritual civilization presupposes the development of material civilization; at the same time, there is a reaction of man's consciousness to his social being and a reaction of

spiritual civilization to material civilization, and, under a given condition, such reactions are important. According to the previous "left" way, people trusted spirit as omnipotent and looked down on the development of the productive forces. This is surely wrong. However, the correction of the "left" mistakes by no means signifies that the building of spiritual civilization in turn can be underestimated. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "A socialist country that we must build must have not only a high degree of material civilization but also a high degree of spiritual civilization."¹ The building of material civilization is an indispensable foundation for the building of socialist spiritual civilization. The building of socialist spiritual civilization not only plays a great role in advancing the building of material civilization, but also guarantees the correct direction of its development. The building of two civilizations serves as a condition and aim of each other. The basic principle of the central authorities is, therefore, that two civilizations are to be grasped simultaneously. As an important component part of the building of socialist spiritual civilization, socialist cultural work must take the building of material civilization as a foundation and at the same time play a great role in advancing the building of material civilization. Moreover, socialist cultural work is one important factor that guarantees the correct direction of the development of material civilization. The great achievements scored in cultural work in the new period are, on the whole, the result of seriously implementing the principle of grasping two civilizations simultaneously, whereas the problems and faults of cultural work are, on the whole, related to the underestimation of spiritual civilization building, that is, "taking a firm hold with one hand and a loose hold with the other," as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out.

The major task at the initial stage of socialism is to develop the productive forces. Economic construction is the center of the work of the whole party and country, and all fronts must carry out their work with economic construction as the center. Cultural work must also promote development of economic construction in its particular forms and create a good environment for the smooth progress of economic construction. It is because of taking economic construction as the center that objective requirements for strengthening spiritual civilization building and valuing cultural work are put forward. It is because we carry out socialist modernization construction in a country whose population is large, foundation weak, and productive forces backward that we must give full play to the great role of socialist spiritual civilization as an impetus in the light of realities. Comrade Deng Xiaoping rightly pointed out, "The more the party and government implement all policies of economic reform and opening to the outside world, the more party members, especially senior responsible cadres of the party, must attach importance to and earnestly practice communist ideology and communist morals."² "By relying merely on material conditions, our revolution and construction cannot succeed. In the past, however weak our

party might have been and whatever difficulties it may have encountered, it all along had powerful combat effectiveness because we had Marxist and communist beliefs. As we have a common ideal, we have iron discipline. This was in the past, is now, and will be in the future our real superiority. Some comrades are not so clear about this truth."³ The problem arises just here. After the center of the work of the whole party shifted to economic construction, some comrades, including individual responsible comrades in important leadership posts, really failed to see the complicated international and domestic conditions and the social class state at the initial stage of socialism; failed to see the extreme importance of improving the socialist laborers' political, moral, cultural, and technological quality; and practically regarded the development of the productive forces as the only exclusive task. Therefore, the importance they gave to ideological and cultural work often remained stagnant at meetings, on paper, and on their lips, but they lacked necessary determination and measures in their practical work. Such a method of "taking a firm hold with one hand and taking a loose hold with the other" failed to advocate and support what should have been advocated and supported and gave an opportunity to the trend of bourgeois liberalization thought and all sorts of unhealthy trends. It was in this sense that Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that the biggest fault in the last 10 years is in education. In his speech at a rally to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, Comrade Jiang Zemin also emphatically pointed out, "We must draw profoundly on the lesson of taking a firm hold with one hand on the building of material and spiritual civilization and taking a loose hold on it with the other and, while making efforts to develop material civilization, must do well in grasping the building of spiritual civilization." This experience and lesson must be seriously summed up by our cultural front.

Comrades who look down on ideological and cultural work have a reason: Now that the economy is the foundation, so long as economic construction is promoted, material living standards will be enhanced and a cultural cause will also naturally develop. We must say that this is a muddled idea. It is because although the development of material civilization can provide a material foundation for the development of spiritual civilization, advanced ideology and concepts cannot be derived directly from advanced productive forces and levels of economic development. Socialist culture, especially socialist ideology and concepts, cannot spontaneously come into being and develop. From the day when it came into being, socialist culture has represented the most advanced conscious pursuit of a class transforming society and creating a new world in human history. Even under China's socialist system, development of the socialist cultural cause can only be the result of conscious pursuit in a guided and planned way. The ideological and cultural realm is not a no man's land and if socialist ideology and healthy culture do not occupy it, capitalist or feudal ideology and decadent culture will. In the

several years before the suppression of the rebellion, as the grasp on ideological and cultural work slackened, the trend of bourgeois liberalization thought ran rampant and serious confusion appeared in the ideological and cultural realms. As a result, serious political consequences of the turmoil and rebellion arose in 1989, and the development of economic construction was also seriously affected at the same time. After the suppression of the rebellion, as ideological and political work has been stepped up and importance has been given to the building of spiritual civilization, the chaotic situation in ideological and cultural realms has been put to an end, the voice of Marxism and the melody of socialist culture and art have ensued, and excellent ideological and cultural environments have been provided for the political, economic, and social stability and development of our country. Such a sharp contrast tells us once again that the results of whether or not importance is given to ideological and cultural work and whether or not a firm hold is taken of it are quite different.

2. It is essential to have a grasp of the dialectical relations between scientific and cultural building and ideological and moral building in the course of building spiritual civilization, and to uphold the socialist nature and direction of the cultural cause of our country.

In the course of building socialist spiritual civilization, scientific and cultural building and ideological and moral building embody each other and are inseparable. Scientific and cultural building is a prerequisite for universal progress in the ideology and morals of the whole society, and ideological and moral building prescribes the nature and direction of spiritual civilization building as a whole. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "So-called spiritual civilization refers not only to education, science, and culture (this is completely necessary) but also to communist ideology, ideals, conviction, morals, and discipline, the revolutionary stand and principles, comradely relations among the people, and so on."⁴ So far as the content of cultural work is concerned, it is necessary to attach importance to the building of cultural knowledge, to the role of all categories of culture, including literature and art, as the carriers of knowledge, to the building of socialist ideology and morals in the cultural realm, with communist ideals as the supreme stratum, and to uphold the socialist nature and orientation of China's cultural cause as a whole. In the past, the building of culture and knowledge and the aesthetic judgment and entertainment functions of art were underestimated and the political nature of culture and magnification of class struggle were overemphasized. These are among the "left" mistakes and must surely be corrected. However, it is also wrong to water down and obliterate the ideological nature and tendency of cultural development and to blur and even to abolish the socialist banner of China's cultural cause. Our other experience and lesson are that, in the several years before the suppression of the rebellion and in conjunction with the problem in civilization building of taking a firm hold with one hand and taking a loose hold with the other, in cultural work itself, some comrades emphasized only the

building of culture and knowledge, emphasized only the beauty of the pure forms and pure amusement nature of art, looked down on the content and education function of revolutionary ideals and morals, and obliterated the socialist nature and orientation of China's cultural cause. As a result, the trend of liberalization thought and the other erroneous trends of thought were greatly facilitated.

Some comrades pointed out that the principal contradiction of the cultural realm at the initial stage of socialism of our country is the contradiction between civilization and ignorance, and the principal task of cultural work is to enhance the people's cultural (knowledge) standard. Such a view is one-sided. Yes, due to the underdeveloped economy and the generally low scientific and cultural standards of the people, the contradiction between civilization and ignorance really exists in the cultural realm at the initial stage of socialism of our country, and the enhancement of the scientific and cultural standards of the whole nation is indeed a long-term and arduous task. However, this is only one aspect of the matter. What is more important is that the contradiction between the socialist ideology and the capitalist and feudal ideologies still runs through the cultural realm at the initial stage of socialism and that this contradiction has a direct bearing on the future of the cultural cause and the fate of the socialist cause as a whole. In this sense, the fundamental task of cultural work at the initial stage of socialism is, therefore, to enhance the scientific and cultural standards of the whole nation and to use socialist ideology to defeat capitalist and feudal ideologies and foster socialist new people with "four have's" ("having ideals, morals, culture, discipline"). As Comrade Jiang Zemin emphasized in his speech at a rally to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, it is necessary "to conduct unremitting ideological education in patriotism, collectivism, socialism, self-reliance, and hard struggle and revolutionary traditional education for the people of the whole country, especially young people and juveniles, and to conduct communist ideological education for Communist Party members, Communist Youth League [CYL] members, and advanced elements." The ignoring and slackening of such ideological and moral building is virtually the discarding of the soul of the socialist cultural cause of our country and the discarding of the ideological foundation stone of modernization construction, reform, and opening up.

At the initial stage of socialism in China, economically, it is necessary to adhere to the ownership structure with many economic sectors coexisting and with socialist public ownership as the main aspect; politically, it is essential to pursue an extensive united front under the leadership of the Communist Party; and culturally, it is imperative to have a multi-sector, multilevel, and varied development pattern. The previous method of requiring a very pure ideological nature in culture cannot be repeated. Even if our culture has not attained the socialist ideological plane, so long as our culture has progressive content, including patriotism and democracy, and so long as our culture can give people the

enjoyment of beauty and delight and is beneficial to people's physical and mental health, it should occupy a necessary position in the social and cultural life. However, the dominant part of China's cultural pattern should be socialist literature, art, and culture, that is, literature, art, and culture with clear-cut socialist ideological content. Moreover, socialist literature, art, and culture must embrace the pursuit of communist ideals and convictions and regard this as the loftiest plane. Such a socialist ideological nature of the dominant part restricts and controls the socialist nature and development orientation of China's cultural cause as a whole. Negating the socialist literature and art banner is virtually to negate the socialist nature and orientation of the cultural cause as a whole. It is here that the seriousness of the problems lies: Not only do some members of cultural circles openly deny that literature and art are ideology and reject "socialist literature," but individual leaders follow also, babbling that nobody can tell what socialist literature is and nobody can now tell what the socialist road is. Therefore, the "theories of tending toward consensus" echo each other politically and economically; the proposition that China's literary and artistic development must take the road of the Western modernist school becomes fashionable; indiscriminately copying the complete method of Western cultural management, including complete commercialization, is popular for a while; and all sorts of black (vilifying socialism), white (beautifying capitalism), and yellow (pornographic) things imposingly occupy some media positions and the cultural market and disseminate feelings of doubting socialism. These become a big contributing factor leading to some mental degeneration and juvenile delinquency. In contrast to these, after suppression of the rebellion, because the trend of erroneous nonideological thought was criticized and the socialist ideological nature of the dominant part of China's culture and art was emphasized, there are remarkable and gratifying changes in the outlook of the media and cultural market. Good and encouraging momentum has emerged in literature and art creations expressing the socialist spirit of the times and portraying socialist new people. The whole of cultural and art work has played a more and more remarkable part in conducting education in revolutionary ideals, morals, and discipline for the masses, especially young people and juveniles, and in encouraging the people to inspire their enthusiasm to plunge into modernization construction, reform, and opening up. Facts incontrovertibly prove how important it is to uphold the socialist nature and orientation of China's cultural cause and the socialist ideological nature of the dominant part of China's culture and art.

3. It is imperative to handle correctly the relations between destruction and construction in cultural and art work.

The emergence and development of new things is bound to follow the negating and destruction of the old things. Destruction is an important condition for construction and only by construction can the results of destruction be consolidated. This is a general law of the development of

things brought to light by materialist dialectics. Under different conditions, the specific relations between and focal points of destruction and construction vary, but anyway, such relations of dialectical unity between destruction and construction cannot be separated and negated. Cultural and art work is no exception. The correct handling of relations between destruction and construction in cultural and art work is, in a sense, the correct handling of relations between struggle and construction.

On this issue, we indeed made "left" mistakes in the past. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of China's means of production was basically completed and class struggle was actually no longer the main contradiction at home, in conjunction with continuously taking class struggle as the key link politically, we continuously and indiscriminately put "destruction" first in the ideological and cultural realms and looked down on construction, causing unnecessary losses to China's cultural and art development. Especially in the period of the Great Cultural Revolution, we went in for the practice of "opening a way with mass criticism" and the practice that "destruction" was everything, bringing about more disastrous consequences. We can by no means repeat the practice of attaching more importance to destruction but less to construction or even the practice of only indulging in destruction without construction. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the center of the work of the whole party and country has shifted onto economic construction and the central authorities have also clearly and definitely pointed out that, as a class, the exploiting class no longer exists on the mainland of our country. Under such circumstances, it is necessary and correct to put forth that positive construction should be strengthened in cultural and art work, and in the dialectical relation between destruction and construction, the focal point of emphasis should be "construction" to promote the commencement and development of the cultural and art work of the new period. However, if we fundamentally negate the necessary struggle in the cultural realm because of correcting the previous erroneous method, and if we go in for the so-called practice of "only indulging in construction without destruction," we then go from one extreme to the other and sever the dialectical relations between destruction and construction in the manner of the right. Facts prove that, when a small number of comrades persistently do this, the result is that the demarcation line between right and wrong in the cultural realm is blurred, cultural and art workers are shackled in waging active ideological struggle, and an obstacle is set up to block construction with the correct orientation. Under the pretense of "only indulging in construction without destruction," a tiny number of people who profess to be cultural "elitists" wantonly disseminate their erroneous views and go in for "construction" in a big way that runs counter to the orientation of "serving two aspects," and actually destroy socialism in a big way and build capitalism in a big way. Its serious consequences merit people's deep reflection.

There is a question of how to treat "destruction" in the cultural realm in connection with this. We should see that the cultural and art phenomena are rich but complicated; contradictions and struggle in the cultural realm include new and old, correct and wrong contradictions and struggle, their specific nature is varied, a large number of them are not class struggles, and some even are not ideological struggles. As in the past, class struggle is taken as the key link after the socialist system was basically established, the destruction of the old and establishment of the new in culture and art is equated to class struggle. This has been proved to be wrong. However, because of correcting this mistake, we basically deny that the cultural and art realms still have contradictions and struggle that has the nature of class struggle, and, likewise, we are divorced from reality. Lenin emphatically pointed out after the October Revolution, "The historical period in which we live is the period when we are waging a struggle against the world bourgeoisie, which is many times stronger than we, and we must adhere to revolutionary construction in this period. We must wage a struggle against the bourgeoisie in military matters, and especially in ideology and education."⁵ Class struggle exists in a certain sphere in our country at the present stage and is expressed not only politically and economically, but also surely ideologically and in the cultural and art realms. In his speech in 1990 to mark the May 4th Movement, Comrade Jiang Zemin clearly and definitely pointed out: "Antagonism and struggle between the four cardinal principles and bourgeois liberalization are protracted, and this is an important manifestation of class struggle in a certain sphere under socialist conditions." In the cultural and art realms, true Communist Party members and socialist cultural workers insist on taking the socialist road and use culture and art to uphold China's socialist economic foundation, while a tiny number of people who stubbornly cling to the stand of bourgeois liberalization, namely representative figures of the capitalist forces, use culture and art to vilify and negate China's socialist system and want to turn China into a bourgeois republic ruled by a small number of "elitists." Can't such uncompromising antagonism and struggle be a manifestation of class struggle? The international hostile forces have not abandoned for a single day their plot to alter the socialist nature of our country. In collusion with reactionary forces at home and abroad, they have pursued "peaceful evolution" in China and launched so-called "psychological attack warfare," "ideological warfare," and "propaganda warfare." Thus, struggles emerge in the ideological and cultural realms between evolution and anti-evolution, infiltration and anti-infiltration, and subversion and anti-subversion. This is already an undeniable fact. In the whole initial stage of socialism of our country, "destruction" in the cultural and art realms, therefore, surely includes certain struggle that has the nature of class struggle. It won't work if we exaggerate it, and it is also dangerous if we disregard it. The blood-and-fire struggle in the political disturbance in 1989 tells us once again that Comrade Mao Zedong's thesis that

"class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in ideology is still protracted" is not obsolete and that class struggle exists in a certain sphere, including the cultural and art realms, independent of man's will. Sometimes it is fairly fierce. It is the correct attitude to understand it scientifically, to greet it in vigorous struggle, and unremittingly to defeat the "peace" offensives of hostile forces. After suppression of the rebellion, the manifestation of our facing actively and squarely and treating correctly the class struggle in a certain ideological sphere is an important reason for a new favorable turn quickly emerging in cultural and art work.

As class struggle still exists in a certain sphere, the dialectical relation between destruction and construction in the new situation determines that we must regard construction as the center in the cultural and art work. At the same time, we cannot merely embark on construction and cannot always accomplish our construction tasks in a calm and tranquil situation. While stressing construction, we must insist that there are both destruction and construction and that the issue of class struggle in a certain sphere must be correctly handled. Thus, we can complete the tasks of China's cultural and art work at the present stage in a comprehensive way and push cultural construction forward in conformity with the law.

4. It is necessary to combat persistently the tendency toward two kinds of mistakes in cultural work, and the present focal point is to combat bourgeois liberalization.

Understanding and transforming the world is a tortuous course of development. The road of human advance not only cannot always be a calm and tranquil one, but also cannot be perfectly straight. Historical dialectics determines without exception that China's socialist cause can only advance in a tortuous way. A correct line not only can be formed and established through repeated practice but also can develop and improve in the struggle against an erroneous tendency. Therefore, we cannot assume that no erroneous tendency will appear in our work, but we can correctly understand and effectively overcome this erroneous tendency. We must see not only that an erroneous tendency may occupy a dominant position in a certain period, like the 10 years of the Great Cultural Revolution; but different erroneous tendencies may also occur even when a correct line occupies a dominant position, like during the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution and the 10 years before the suppression of the rebellion in the new period. To wage a struggle against a tendency, on the one hand, we must not only positively affirm that when a correct line occupies a dominant position, achievements are the main aspect, but also affirm that even when an erroneous line occupies a dominant position, there is still a vigorous force. On the other hand, whatever the situation may be, we must solemnly and seriously handle erroneous tendencies, resolutely and effectively combat them, and by no means allow them to develop into a catastrophe.

Cultural and art workers have their own characteristics, and literature, art, and culture are not tantamount to politics. A large number of questions in cultural and art work do not constitute questions of ideological tendency, and general art tendencies and academic mistakes also do not constitute the questions of "left" or right political tendencies. However, on the whole, culture and art cannot be divorced from politics. This is not only because many literary and art works and theoretical articles have political content and writers, artists, theoreticians, and cultural organizations have their political stand and political behavior in practical political life, but also because macro guidance to organizational leadership over cultural work is bound to be related to a certain political tendency and political line. So far as the orientation of the development of cultural work as a whole is concerned, it also embraces a question of what political orientation it has. "Left" and right erroneous tendencies may, therefore, also happen in cultural work; this is an undeniable fact. It is, of course, wrong to equate culture and art to politics, to regard the faults in art and the general academic and ideological questions as "left" or right questions, and to raise them to the higher plane of principle. It is necessary to keep similar mistakes from occurring. On the other hand, it is also dangerous to fundamentally deny a question of political orientation in cultural and art work as a whole, to deny the possibility of the occurrence of an erroneous political tendency in cultural and art work, and even not to admit an erroneous political tendency already occurring, while emphasizing the cultural and art characteristics as a reason. If we persist in blindly stressing watering down the political nature and pure art, and are unwilling to understand the erroneous mistakes already occurring in light of the relations between the cultural work as a whole and the political tendency, the result is that the erroneous political tendency is protected and bourgeois liberalization is encouraged to multiply (as with a tiny number of people with ulterior motives who unscrupulously oppose the four cardinal principles in culture under the pretense of watering down its political nature; this is naturally another matter). These lessons merit serious rethinking.

In connection with this, on the issue of combating an erroneous tendency, we must carry on an ideological struggle on two fronts and practically and realistically combat the erroneous "left" and right tendencies and cannot concentrate on one thing only. As the "left" mistakes caused serious losses to the development of our country's cultural cause from the late 1950's, especially the ultraleft ideas in the 10 years of the Great Cultural Revolution caused a cultural catastrophe, in the wake of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, it is completely necessary to concentrate on combating the "left" mistakes on the cultural front. This, however, by no means signifies that we must combat only the erroneous "left" tendency, but not that of the right. In fact, as early as the spring of 1979, on the basis of the development of the actual situation, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forth the task of combating the right tendency. Following the appearance of the phenomenon

of *Unrequited Love*, he again clearly and definitely pointed out in spring 1981: "In emancipating the mind, it is imperative to combat both the 'left' and right."⁶ It is because the erroneous right tendency negates not only our revolutionary history but also China's socialist realities; negates not only the achievements in the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution, but also reform and opening up along with the socialist orientation in the new period. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "the right tendency does not truly support the policy of reform and opening up," and it goes in for total Westernization "under the pretext of supporting opening up and reform."⁷ However, owing to the one-sided summing up of historical experiences and to a bent for praise from some places outside the borders and from Western media, under the new historical conditions, some comrades who wield media and organization power on the cultural front have made another kind of metaphysical mistake, that is, combating "left" only but not right, proceeding from the extreme that "left" is better than right, to the extreme that right is better than "left." Whoever mentions combating the right and criticizes bourgeois liberalization will be labeled "ultraleft" and "conservative" by them. Obviously, bourgeois liberalization caused serious harm in the cultural realm and became a major erroneous tendency hindering cultural development, stubbornly insisting that the only task of the cultural front was to combat the "left" and even requiring the central authorities to cancel the proposal on combating bourgeois liberalization. In particular, as individual leaders of the central authorities also passively handled the policy of combating bourgeois liberalization reiterated many times by the central authorities, it then even developed to the extent that the representative figures indulging in liberalization were shielded, connived with, and supported, and that the comrades who adhered to the four cardinal principles and combated liberalization were suppressed. As a result, the struggle against liberalization came to a premature end time and again, and bourgeois liberalization in the ideological and cultural realms became more and more fierce, culminating in the political turmoil in the spring and summer of 1989. This lesson is too grave, and we must forever bear it in mind.

In the issue of combating erroneous tendencies, there is another experience and lesson that must be seriously summed up, that is, how the relationship between anti-feudal ideology and anti-bourgeois decadent ideology should be treated. We must see that, because China has undergone several thousand years of feudal society, the influence of feudal ideology is, as it were, deeply rooted. So far as the present is concerned, the influence of feudalism and the vestiges of feudal ideology no doubt still exist in our country's social life, including political life, and the influence of feudal ideology and of the idea of small-scale production in the economically and culturally backward rural areas may be greater than the influence of bourgeois ideology. Combating the vestiges of feudal ideology is, therefore, still a long-term important task of China's ideological and cultural fronts.

Nevertheless, we must also see at the same time that feudalism has really lost its realistic economic foundation on China's mainland and the feudal class no longer exists, and that it is, therefore, impossible that its political representative figures who can affect the overall situation will appear again. So far as the overall situation of the political, ideological, and cultural realms is concerned, feudalism is dependent on bourgeois decadent ideology. We can use only Marxism to distinguish and combat feudal ideology. An important habitual practice of the "elitists" indulging in bourgeois liberalization is that under the so-called slogan of "anti-feudalism," they deliberately confuse the basic demarcation line between right and wrong, describe Marxism and socialism as "feudalism," and oppose them. We must fully see that our country has a 100-year semifeudal and semicolonial history in modern times [1840 to the May 4th Movement in 1919] and contemporary times [from 1919 to the present] and that the influence and dissemination of capitalist ideology are of long standing. In particular, at present, capitalist decadent ideology is corroding us; as the ideological foundation of bourgeois liberalization, the trend of bourgeois erroneous thought is multiplying and running rampant in China's cultural and art realms and all areas of social life. They are a menace and danger. The contradictions between socialist ideology and capitalist ideology are the principal contradictions in the political, ideological, and cultural realms of China at the present stage. It is because capitalist economic factors still exist in a certain sphere at home, and the political influence of bourgeois liberalization and its representative figures especially exist there. Internationally, capitalism still occupies a dominant position ideologically and culturally. In particular, as some capitalist countries have developed relatively steadily since World War II, there have recently been changes and turbulence in some socialist countries, and the international hostile forces have strengthened "peaceful evolution" offensives, bourgeois ideology has strong international ties, and the challenge of bourgeois liberalization has support from the international "major climate." We must now, therefore, not only emphasize resisting erosion by bourgeois decadent ideology and combating bourgeois liberalization but also protractedly and unrelentingly carry on anti-bourgeois liberalization education and struggle to the end. Those faults occurring several years ago should no longer be repeated.

To effectively combat an erroneous tendency, it is also imperative to insist on the correct method. The lessons in the struggle against bourgeois liberalization on several previous occasions are that failure was due mainly to weakness, slackness, toleration, and connivance, so that the struggle against bourgeois liberalization came to a premature end in a very short period of time and appeared repeatedly. After suppression of the rebellion, under the resolute support of the proletarian revolutionaries represented by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and under the correct leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin as the core, we have avoided individual leaders' interference by doing the work another way, since interference occurred twice previously. As the cultural and art fronts have resolutely combated bourgeois liberalization according to the resolutions and arrangements of the central authorities and, at the

same time, also accepted the lessons prior to the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, they have not used "left" to oppose right, have a serious grasp of the demarcation line of policies, and have vigorously united the majority of cultural and art workers so that anti-erroneous tendency education and struggle on the cultural front can move forward healthily and unrelentingly. Now, we cannot surely say how thorough-going are the anti-bourgeois liberalization education and struggle, and we cannot say that obstacles no longer exist. Nor can we say that the tasks have been completed, but an end has indeed been put to the seriously chaotic situation in which liberalization runs rampant. At the same time, in this work, we have initially acquired the positive experience that resoluteness and safety are needed and have strengthened our confidence in avoiding faults and setback.

No doubt, it must be pointed out that the main erroneous tendency that should now be combated in the cultural realm is still bourgeois liberalization. It does not mean that we can lower our guard against the things of the "left." The "left" things are likely to be expressed under a given condition. Even in the present situation in which emphasis on combating the right, we must also pay attention to prevention of the "left." In the long run, the basic principle is still that we proceed from reality in everything, combat "left" if there is "left," combat right if there is right, and resolutely carry on ideological struggle on two fronts. We must unswervingly stress combating whichever erroneous tendency becomes a major danger in the cultural and art realms. We must resolutely forge ahead along the ideological line of dialectical materialism, and this is our only correct choice.

Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)*, p. 326.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Deng Xiaoping on Literature and Art*, p. 67.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
5. *Selected Works of Lenin*, 1965 edition, Volume 4, p. 384.
6. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)*, p. 334.
7. *Deng Xiaoping on Literature and Art*, p. 119.

My Understanding Gained From Studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's 'On the Rural Policy Question'

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[Text] When our rural reforms just started, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, chief designer of China's reform, explicitly pointed out their direction. On 31 May 1980, in his

talk, "On the Rural Policy Question," he held an affirmative view of the rural areas' achievements in contracting production on a household basis and in large-scale contracting. In addition, he explicitly pointed out, "The major economic manifestation of places that contracted production on a household basis is still the production brigade. What will the future development of these places be? It is certain that so long as production is developed and the division of labor, as well as the commodity economy, in rural areas are developed, collectivism will move from a low-level to a high-level, and places where collective economies are not consolidated will consolidate their economies." He said, "Our general goal is to develop the collective economy." Rural reforms and development over the past decade have proved that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's exposition was a scientific and correct one. In June 1990, at a CPC Central Committee meeting on rural work, Comrade Jiang Zemin further affirmed the guiding ideology of reform, that is, the general goal of upholding the collective economy. Recently, the communique of the 13th CPC Central Committee's Seventh Plenary Session further pointed out, "The responsibility system, which is mainly the practice of contracting with payment linked to household output, conforms to China's present level of productive forces. It must be taken as a basic system, stabilized for a long time, and constantly perfected. On this basis, we should actively develop a socialized services system, perfect and improve the two-tier operation system of integrating centralization with decentralization, and gradually strengthen the economic strength of collectives." I believe that this article by Comrade Deng Xiaoping was a programmatic document giving guidance on rural reforms. However, we did not attach great importance to it in the past. At present, when we are in the process of intensifying the rural reforms according to the central authorities' requirements, it is very necessary that we organize the whole party to study again this important document, "On the Rural Policy Question." Taking the actual situation of Beijing suburbs as an example, I will discuss my personal experience and understanding.

I. To Uphold the Correct Direction of the System of Contracted Responsibilities With Payment Linked to Output Is the Prerequisite for Developing Collectivism From a Low Level to a High Level

Before reform, the rural areas of Beijing's suburbs were, like other places in China, troubled by a unitary economic system, excessively centralized management, and the shortcomings of equalitarianism in distribution. Therefore, they had to be reformed. Nevertheless, reform is a self-perfection of the socialist system. China's collective ownership of production means is an important indication of adoption of the socialist economic system in the rural areas. The rural reforms are by no means an attempt to completely replace the collective economy. Rather, they are acts to find an effective way to integrate the collective economy's superiority with the individual peasants' enthusiasm. Such an effective way is to establish in the collective economy various types of

contracted responsibility systems with payment linked to output.

In 1978, Changping and Daxing Counties in Beijing's suburbs started, on a trial basis, linking payment to output. In 1979, 68 percent of the suburb's 11,000-odd basic accounting units established various contracted responsibility systems. By the end of 1981, as many as 84.2 percent of the planting industry's basic accounting units adopted the responsibility system with payment linked to output. This included 35.5 percent of units which implemented the system on a team basis, 42.5 percent which implemented the system on a laborer basis, 6.2 percent which contracted responsibilities on a household basis, and 15.8 percent which contracted job segments and made payments on fixed rates.

In 1982, large-scale contracting was extensively practiced across China. Since this responsibility system was noted for such advantages as "having explicit obligations, a simplified approach, and direct interests," it became very attractive. At that time, the Beijing suburbs encountered the question of how to implement the responsibility system in agriculture: Should it transform the collective economy's existing framework and discard its disadvantages; or should it start all over? Acting in the spirit of "emancipating the mind, and seeking truth from facts," the suburbs' leadership at various levels analyzed the local areas' specific conditions and characteristics and unified their understanding of how to make the contracted responsibility system with payment linked to output suit local conditions. Eventually, the municipal CPC Committee and government confirmed the following guiding ideology: The responsibility system must be implemented and practices of equalitarianism and "eating from the same big pot" must be discarded; both the superiority of collectives and enthusiasm of individuals must be given play at the same time; nobody is allowed to undermine those advanced productive forces that have already formed, and the accumulations made by collectives must be preserved; no indiscriminate acts will be allowed; the form of the responsibility system must suit local conditions; and the development and perfection of the responsibility system must be favorable to the development of commodity production. In 1983, CPC Central Committee Document No. 1 pointed out that the implementation of a contracted responsibility system with payment linked to output meant that we had to establish, on the basis of carrying forward the achievements made in the cooperative movement, a two-tier operation system that integrated centralization with decentralization. We understood that the achievements made in the cooperative movement referred to the establishment of ownership by collectives, the accumulation and rational utilization of collective assets, distribution according to work, and a mutually cooperative personal relationship. The initial progress made by the Beijing suburbs in reform tallied with this spirit. It

upheld the correct direction of the system of contracted responsibility with payment linked to output. Since it preserved the collectives' economic strength and safeguarded the collective economy's framework, it thus laid a material basis and created organizational conditions, for implementing the new two-tier operation system that integrated centralization with decentralization.

Under the guidance of the central authorities' spirit, the suburbs, while popularizing the responsibility system, upheld the principles of integrating centralization with decentralization and giving guidance according to types. They upheld that major production means, such as large and medium-sized farm tools, should be owned, centrally managed, and utilized by collectives; that business concerning the tools should be run solely by production brigades and enterprises; and that the tools should be contracted by collectives. This thus mobilized the enthusiasm of operators and producers, overcame the practice of equalitarianism, and safeguarded the progressive productive forces and the specialized division of labor that had already formed. In 1985, 96.5 percent of village-level production brigades adopted the contracted responsibility system in large-scale farming. At the same time, they generally established uniform management and services in various areas. In fact, the agricultural households' production process was accomplished with the uniform operation and participation or cooperation of collectives. When the practice of contracting on a household basis was adopted by villages with a unitary economy and collectives with rather weak economies, other villages and production brigades, which had developed a collective economy and a detailed division of labor, implemented the practice of "unified operations and contracting by specialized parties." The number of the latter accounted for 15 percent of the total number of villages and production brigades. Of course, there were a small number of villages and production brigades that distributed all of their collective assets and carried out their work in a disguised way. They had difficulty in establishing their two-tier operations, and their economic development became backward. Only peasants still practiced single-tier operations, which was neither a favorable way to develop their economies nor a correct way to implement the contracted responsibility system with payment linked to output. We must always bear in mind the lesson of these localities.

The work of correctly implementing the contract system with payment linked to output not only provided an organizational framework for two-tier operation to enhance collectivism, but also created new productive forces. In 1985, the gross revenue of the collective economy had increased 1.21 times when compared to 1982. The annual rate of increase was 30.2 percent, and the per capita amount received by collectives was 571 yuan, an increase of 1.59 times.

II. Gradually Perfect the Collective Economy's Production and Operation Systems by Developing Productive Forces

How should we develop the collective economy from a low level to a high level? Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out four conditions. That is, first, improvement in mechanization; second, enhancement of management skills; third, development of a diversified economy; and fourth, increase in both the amount and proportion of collectives' revenue. The core of these conditions is the development of productive forces, among which the prime ones are the development of mechanization and diversified economy. In other words, we must improve the production means to create a material and technological basis for modern agriculture; and develop commodity production, as well as expand the scope of the division of labor to end the unitary economic system.

Over the years, the Beijing suburbs had been following just this direction pointed out by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. The productive forces were developed rapidly by integrating centralization with decentralization and establishing the two-tier operation system. In the wake of development of the productive forces, the collective economy grew stronger and stronger. As the two promoted each other, they created the material conditions for further perfecting the collective economy's production and operation systems.

First, since the collectives' operation function was given full play, and a diversified economy and town and township enterprises were developed rapidly, the scope of the division of rural labor was expanded, thereby creating labor transfers and capital conditions for small families engaging in agricultural production.

The contracted responsibility system with payment linked to output improved the productivity of agricultural labor, so that a large amount of labor was released from agriculture. In 1984 alone, collective enterprises set up in towns and villages absorbed 218,000 laborers, an increase of 34 percent when compared to the previous year. There was also a considerable development in the individual and private economies. In 1986, there were 65,199 rural industrial and commercial individual households, employing 106,687 people, which increased respectively by 28 and 39 times when compared to 1981. In the wake of development in the diversified economy and in the secondary and tertiary industries there had been changes in the quality of the suburb's rural economy. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the proportion of agricultural to nonagricultural revenue changed from 4:6 to 3:7. During the Seventh Five-Year Plan, it further changed to 26:74. The proportion of productive forces changed from 7:3 to 5:5; and further changed to 4:6. Among various economic sectors, the village-level collective economy saw the most rapid growth and always maintained a favorable position. The proportion of revenue received by the collective economy to the gross revenue of the rural areas was always above 80

percent. The proportion of fixed assets owned by collectives was 93.5 percent. The percentage of revenue obtained by peasants from collectives was over 70. During the Seventh Five-Year Plan, village-level collective enterprises spent 650 million yuan on agriculture, or more than twice the amount of funds allocated for agriculture from fiscal revenue during the same period. Generally speaking, the Beijing suburbs had developed an overall situation where the collective economy, as well as contracted operations by collectives, were the key elements; and where various economic sectors coexisted with diversified economic operations.

Changes in the rural economic system provided conditions for changing the general operation of scattered contracting by families. Microeconomically, as a result of industrialization and the expansion of division of labor in society, the labor forces of families entered into different domains of production. The function of agricultural production, which was originally the unitary operation of families, disintegrated. Also, as a result of the reduction in agricultural labor and poor land quality, it became difficult for families to work on their contracted farmland. There was even the phenomenon of extensive farming. Under these circumstances, the suburbs' rural farmland was contracted according to the amount of labor instead of being contracted on a per capita basis. Macroeconomically, as a result of development in the nonagricultural industries, there were many changes in agriculture. First, agriculture was taken concurrently with other work, which was not favorable to maintaining continuous growth in agriculture. Second, demand for agricultural and sideline products increased sharply. Third, the problem that agriculture, particularly grain production, showed lower yields became more prominent. Since peasants found it difficult to get rich by depending on their small pieces of farmland, they engaged concurrently in other work, and their enthusiasm for growing grain plummeted. This illustrated that the traditional form of being semi-self-reliant in agricultural production did not conform to the development of industrialization. This contradiction could be solved only by developing agriculture as a profession and by promoting large-scale production and modernization of agriculture. That the suburbs depended on the collectives, and expanded the scale of cultivation on contracted farmland on the basis of dividing labor by specialized zones, was a product of such an economic background.

Second, we greatly promoted modernizing agriculture, and on the basis of new material and technology, we transformed the agricultural operating subject, thereby perfecting the collectives' production and operation systems.

During the Sixth and Seventh Five-Year Plans, the material, technological, and equipment levels of the suburbs' agriculture was remarkable enhanced. The total power of agricultural machinery increased from 2.35 million kilowatts in 1980 to 4.4 million kilowatts in 1990. There was a sharp increase in the number of

combine harvesters, large and medium-sized tractors, and vehicles for agricultural use. The area irrigated by agricultural machinery was increased from 79.9 to 96 percent. The amount of electricity consumed by the rural areas was increased from 770 million kWh to 2,000 million kWh.

The development of agricultural machinery and the enhancement of the material, technological, and equipment levels shortened the time needed to harvest crops sown in summer and autumn. Therefore, two crops might be planted in a parallel manner. Both parallel planting of two crops and machine cultivation required us to break through the limits of general operation of scattered contracting by families and to adopt large-scale operations. As we increasingly used machines to cultivate farmland, the manual labor of forces contracting such farmland became supplementary. Operators of agricultural machinery and agricultural technicians became the subject of agricultural production. Under this form of labor, the labor forces contracting such farmland played a cooperative role in the process of working, and were responsible only for the quantity and quality of their labor, and did not take full responsibility for the final products yielded from the land. Therefore, the accounting unit of agriculture was changed from households to production brigades and farms. It was just because of this that, in recent years, a number of large collective enterprises have emerged in the suburbs.

The emergence and development of collective farms and specialized grain production brigades was a development trend of large agricultural organizations at the microeconomic level on the basis of the new material and technological level and a form of the collective economy's progressive improvement. Because of collective farms and specialized production brigades, the rural production and operation systems moved gradually toward integrating centralization with decentralization, stressing centralization. Compared to the past, though it was still the integration of centralization with decentralization and the two-tier operation, its specific target and mutual relationship apparently changed. It should be pointed out that this kind of integration of centralization with decentralization did not prevent some peasants from developing the individual economy or the economy of self-operation run by families; nor did it prevent the economy of self-operation run by peasant families from establishing certain kinds of relations with collectives.

III. Improving Management Skills Is the Key To Safeguarding Success in Running Collective Agriculture

To develop collectivism at a higher level, we must improve our management skills. The level of management skills is a comprehensive indication of economic, technological, and social development, as well as a comprehensive manifestation of the level of a given society's material and spiritual civilizations. Therefore, improving management skills is an arduous and lengthy process, for which we must make constant and unswerving efforts. Advocates of privatization held that

it was inevitable that public ownership would not be run properly because no one cared about it. As we uphold the socialist direction and the system that focuses on public ownership, we must be brave and determined in answering this challenge. At the same time, we must soberly realize that, as a result of changes in the rural economic system, as well as the expansion in the scale of economies, new issues concerning our economic management will emerge one after another. These issues need to be explored and promptly solved. Judging from the Beijing suburbs' experience, I hold that the following points must be considered when we improve management skills: First, supervision over contracting. Under the system of integrating centralization with decentralization and the two-tier operation, centralizing operations includes supervision. In other words, we should determine the form of production responsibility system according to the actual conditions and the opinions of most cooperative members, and work out plans for and supervise the collective assets, such as land. This includes determining a rational target for contracting purposes in various trades, centralizing major technological measures, balancing the rate of labor rewards for various trades, coordinating relations among industries, and so on. At the early stage of implementing the contracted responsibility system with payment linked to output, particularly in places that carry out large-scale contracting, however, there were cases of "substituting supervision with contracting," and that contracting parties refused to submit themselves for supervision. Consequently, village-level cadres "did not dare to, were not willing to, and were not able to supervise." In some cases, the contracting parties even divided the farmland and planted their plots on their own, so that they ran their operation by plundering, and irresponsibly used collective assets. If we do not rectify this situation, the collective economy will be seriously undermined. Therefore, we should educate the grassroots cadres in supervising the contracting parties in a bold and assured manner. At the same time, we should educate the peasants in distinguishing the practice of contracting from that of self-operation, so as to boost their understanding of collectives.

Second, supervision over distribution. It is proper to perfect "the integration of centralization with decentralization and the two-tier operation" by upholding the national, collective, and individual interests at the same time, and rectifying any tendency of favoring any of these interests at the expense of the other two. Under the two-tier operation system, whether or not the collectives' centralized operations are perfect is, to a large extent, determined by the collectives' level of accumulation. Judging from the Beijing suburbs' experience, the most prominent question at present is that contradictions will develop between the operations of collective-run economic organizations and the original pattern of distribution, which takes families as the contracting units, after the former become the subject of agricultural investment and operations. Therefore, in the course of perfecting the distribution system and strengthening their supervision

over distribution, some villages changed their distribution pattern from the original one of "retaining the remainder after withholding portions for the state and collectives" into a new one of "delivering the remainder to collectives after withholding portions for the state and retaining their own shares."

Third, construction of cooperatives. Though the collective economy actually exists and plays its role in production, the construction of collective-run economic organizations has been sluggish since the separation of government administration from cooperative management. The situation has gone so far that some collectives exist only in name, are poorly organized, and are in a chaotic state. This has brought about serious consequences: 1) Some people ideologically had doubts about the existence of collectives, and this has undermined the concept of public ownership. 2) It failed to provide organizational procedures or a system to supervise the contracted economy, thereby facilitating the spread of unhealthy tendencies and the degeneration of the contracting enterprises. 3) It was difficult to rectify the practices of "substituting supervision by contracting" and that contracting parties refused to submit themselves to supervision, so that the collective assets were lost in large quantities. 4) The readjustment channels for balancing the rewards and coordinating the development of various trades was lost, so that it was difficult to fulfill the planned commodity economic system's goals, and those of the national policies. 5) There was no guarantee for the socialist democracy in terms of organization and system, so that cadres were unable to supervise and had nothing to rely on, thereby encouraging blind decisions and other unhealthy tendencies. Therefore, it is necessary to perfect the organization of cooperation.

To perfect the organization of cooperation is not a simple task. Instead, we must standardize it through a perfected system of organizations, and by formulating a scientific and effective system, so as to protect the cooperative members' democratic rights of being the master of their own affairs, promoting economic development, and building a community civilization. The community cooperatives' functions and roles cannot be substituted by other political or autonomous organizations. Based on this understanding, in the autumn of 1989, the suburbs started organizing and building community cooperatives, as well as an organizational system. It unified the names of cooperatives in more than 90 percent of the villages, set up a congress system for cooperative members, elected administrative committees for cooperatives, and carried out a series of activities to democratically run the cooperatives. The results have been remarkable. Judging from the development trend, while we consolidate and perfect the community cooperatives, there would, in the wake of further optimization of production factors and the development of an export-oriented economy, develop various forms of cooperative organizations, particularly those high-level forms of cooperation surmounting the limits of towns and villages. We must study their ways of development and give them positive guidance.

Fourth, cultivation of qualified supervisors of the public economy. Facts have shown that, given identical or similar social and cultural conditions, outstanding supervisors of the public economy can lead the masses to build a highly effective collective economy. Such supervisors must not only possess a high level of socialist consciousness and the spirit of serving the people, but also proper experience and expertise in supervision. Therefore, to cultivate and train qualified cooperative cadres is a task of strategic significance, to which we should attach great importance.

IV. Several Aspects of Understanding

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's talk, "On the Rural Policy Question," is an example of closely integrating Marxist theory with the actual situation of China's rural areas. It not only pointed out the direction for our rural reforms and development, but also enriched the theoretical treasure of Marxism on the cooperative movement. His remarks completely reflected the requirements of the party's basic line, and flexibly linked the core to the two basic points. Imbued with materialist dialectics, his remarks advocated emancipating thinking and boldly reforming the old system of people's communes, and explicitly urged the need to uphold the collective economy's socialist direction.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's analysis of collectivism's transition from a low level to a high level was based on the basic Marxist theory on production relationships and on the interaction of productive forces; and it explained the pattern of changes in China's collective economy. Reform in the form of collective-run economic organizations is a move to conform to the nature of productive forces in reality; and it is inevitable that our efforts to develop new productive forces will cause further changes in the production relationship. Therefore, collectivism's development toward a higher level is a process of change involving the interaction of development and reform. Such a process cannot be completed by a one-time reform. Though we have accumulated much experience in reform and development, there is still a vast unknown territory out there. Therefore, our understanding about a high-level collectivism is yet to be completed. In particular, there is still a long way to go in respect to our leap from a perceptual understanding to a rational one. From now on, in the wake of developing our practical work, we must constantly enrich our understanding and master the objective pattern for developing collectivism at a high level.

Under the historical condition that the operation system of China's rural collective economy underwent major changes, Comrade Deng Xiaoping took a far-sighted view and pointed out the long-term strategic goal of developing collectivism from a low level to a high level. This showed that the proletarian revolutionist had a strong sense of principle and thoroughly understood the pattern of socioeconomic development, thereby greatly boosting the confidence and encouragement of the rural cadres and masses in taking the socialist road and in

carrying out reform and opening up. The Beijing suburbs' experience thoroughly proved Comrade Deng Xiaoping's exposition that, so long as we uphold the correct direction and work hard to develop productive forces, even nonconsolidated collective economies will be consolidated. Though our collective economy is defective in some areas, it has shown and will further show its superiority. Some people's remark that "no collective agriculture is successful" is groundless.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's remarks were made when some places had just adopted the contracted responsibility system with payment linked to output and the people had not sought a common understanding. He respected the pioneering spirit of the masses and grass-root cadres. At the same time, he proceeded from the people's interests and guided the masses to uphold the direction of developing the collective economy and to work hard to develop productive forces to progress in practicing high-level collectivism. He stressed that we had to "proceed from the specific conditions of localities and the masses' wishes," to "avoid discussing only one method in the propaganda or urging all localities to act in the same way." This fully manifested the party's work method of seeking truth from facts, as well as from the masses and to the masses. We must study this kind of leadership, and in the course of constructing the new socialist economic system, earnestly listen to the masses' aspirations. We must neither spoil things by excessive enthusiasm nor let things develop in their own course. Socialist production relations cannot be spontaneously developed and perfected. Likewise, society's modern productive forces do not emerge on their own in the rural areas. They must be subject to the party's leadership, and voluntarily promote a specialized, large-scale, modernized development of the rural economy according to objective rules, so as to guide the masses to perfect the production relationship. Therefore, in the course of perfecting collectivism at a low level, as well as making progress in practicing collectivism at a high level, we must oppose blind instructions and administrative orders which do not tally with the masses or reality. We must also oppose the thinking of pursuing nothing and uphold the practice of correctly guiding and organizing the masses.

Establish and Perfect Socialized Service Systems for Agriculture

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[Article by Fu Xishou (0265 6932 1108), governor of Anhui Province]

[Text] In recent years, in accordance with the directives of the party Central Committee and the State Council on steadily improving the system of responsibility with the output-related system of contracted household responsibility as the mainstay and on establishing and perfecting socialized service systems for agriculture, we have, on the basis of summing up the experience of rural reform

in Anhui, gone deep into the realities of life to conduct investigations and studies. We have come to further understand that an important step in deepening the rural reform is to actively develop socialized services before, during, and after production to inject new vitality into the output-related system of contracted household responsibility. We have also realized that we must combine the superiority of collective and unified undertakings with the activism of household undertakings and separate management in order to further liberate the rural productive forces.

I

The output-related system of contracted household responsibility is a new rural management system that replaces the people's commune system. This system's attributes have been clearly defined in the "Minutes of the National Conference on Rural Work" endorsed and circulated by the CPC Central Committee in 1982 as follows: "The practice of assigning work quotas to households by contract in some production teams has changed their management mode. Basically, the mode is one of individual household operations, with each assuming sole responsibility for profits and losses. This system is based on the public ownership of land, with the peasant households maintaining contractual ties to the collective... It is thus different from the individual economies of small proprietors before collectivization and is a component of the socialist agricultural economy. As the productive forces develop, it will gradually be developed into a more consummate collective economy." Thus, we must not think of the output-related system of contracted household responsibility as simply the division of land among commune members for them to "go it alone," or as private economy.

Rural reform and economic development over the past 10 years have fully demonstrated to us that the combination of unified and separate management and the output-related system of contracted household responsibility based on household operations are completely in accord with the present level of productivity in the rural areas. They can greatly stimulate and arouse the enthusiasm and creativity of the vast numbers of peasants for production and can promote the development of the commodity economy in rural areas. Chuxian Prefecture used to be an agricultural region with a backward economy, but has seen tremendous changes since adopting the output-related system of contracted household responsibility. In 1989, its total value of industrial and agricultural production amounted to 6.32 billion yuan, with GNP amounting to 4.808 billion yuan, revenue amounting to 338 million yuan, and per capita income for peasants amounting to 571 yuan, which are more than double their respective figures for 1978. Its agricultural production recorded a bumper harvest 12 years in a row. The ratio between industrial and agricultural output value changed from 3:7 to 7:3. In addition to primary industries with grain in the lead, it has also developed secondary and tertiary industries as represented by small town and township enterprises, and

promoted the development of urban reform. As for Anhui Province, a comparison between 1978 and 1989 shows that total grain production has gone up 63.5 percent, an annual increase of 6.6 percent. The total value of agricultural production had more than doubled. Agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline, and fishery production all registered a much faster rate of growth. The commodity rate of agricultural products was as high as 52.4 percent. The commodity rate of grain had risen by 16 percent to 36.4 percent. Over this 12-year period, an average of over 1.8 billion kilograms of unprocessed commodity grain were produced each year. It has made increasing contributions to the state. Between 1984 and 1989, an average of 2.6 billion kilograms of grain were delivered or sold to other places each year. In 1990, Anhui's people overcame natural disasters and won an overall bumper harvest, with grain production setting the second highest record in our province's history, and cotton and oil-bearing crops showing increases of 25.3 and 26.8 percent respectively over the previous year. Total agricultural output value is expected to increase by more than 4 percent. The output-related system of contracted household responsibility is the choice and great creation of the peasants in practice. This system's further stabilization and improvement is needed to develop the rural productive forces and is in accord with the will of the peasants in the millions.

II

As a new operational system, the output-related system of contracted household responsibility is bound to encounter new conditions and problems in the course of operation. The main problems are: First, with the development of social productivity and the commodity economy in the rural areas, the peasants' production and operational activities will become more and more socialized, specialized, and commercialized, which will require a more extensive scale of operation than household units. Second, as production develops, the limitations of household operation will become more manifest. For instance, natural, labor, and other resources cannot be fully utilized. Although it can arouse enthusiasm for agricultural production, it is incapable of increasing investment in agricultural capital construction. There is also very little it can do in the way of promoting scientific and technological achievements. It particular, individual households will have difficulty arranging material supplies before and during production and the processing and transportation of products after production. Third, since people's thinking is not identical, the development of rural reform is also uneven. In Anhui's case, there are roughly three types of places: 1) Chuxian Prefecture and a number of other places that have taken the lead in practicing the overall contracting system have clearly defined unified and separate management right from the start. As reform deepens, they have consciously strived to improve their two-tier management. 2) Places that have adopted the overall contracting system at a later stage have summed up the experience of other places. They practice unified and separate management

where appropriate. These places have also done a good job. 3) Some places were at first reluctant to adopt the overall contracting system. When they could not hold out any longer, they simply let things take their own course. At the early stage of reform, some places which lacked experience one-sidedly stressed "separate" management and were slow in followup work. As a result, there was an unbalanced development of "separate" and "unified" management. In some places, collective property was divided among community members and the collective economy became an "empty shell." In these places, the limitations of household operation were even more pronounced. As we see it now, the improvement of the output-related system of contracted household responsibility, in whatever place, requires that we establish and perfect a socialized service system while continuing to bring the enthusiasm of household operation into play. We must also strengthen the functions of "unified" management, combine "unified" and "separate" management, and improve this two-tier management.

On the whole, the socialized service systems should cover the agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, and fishery systems; the agricultural machinery and electrical appliances service system; the material and technical supplies support system; the operation and management service system; the three-level service system for county, township (town), and village organizations; and so on. On the whole, there are three forms of service, namely, cooperative, social, and national service. Cooperative service refers to services self-provided by cooperatives set up by the peasants to divide labor and cooperation. Social service refers to mutual services between independent economic entities, including cooperatives, between cooperatives and non-member households, and between other types of economic organizations. National service refers to welfare services provided by service organizations set up by governments at various levels for agricultural producers.

The development of socialized service systems is an important aspect in the deepening of rural reform for the following reasons: First, it is only through socialized services that we can combine the production and operation of peasant households with socialized production, thereby preserving the positive factors of peasant household operation while overcoming their limitations. Second, it is only through socialized services that we can make agricultural production more specialized and socialized. The commodity economy's development in rural areas has brought about a steady rise in the degree of production specialization. However, this kind of specialized production is normally based on individual households. Its development objectively requires the provision of increasingly more detailed services. For instance, a household that specializes in breeding rabbits can put its mind at ease and increase the scale of breeding only after problems like feed supply, epidemic prevention, processing, packaging, and transportation have been resolved. Third, it is only through socialized

services that we can link up the scattered production of peasants with the socialized market; provide the peasants with essential and correct market information, as well as the necessary funds, technology, and materials; guide and help the peasants in making production and operation decisions; and avoid risks caused by market fluctuations to the best of our ability.

The establishment of socialized service systems has the rural collective economy's continuous expansion as its basis and support. Practice has proven that the collective economy's development is the foundation of common prosperity. It is an important lever in the regulation and control of different interests and of the industrial structure in rural areas, and is an exceedingly important material force and guarantee for improving the two-tier management system. Household operation has developed somewhat over the years. In some places, the collective economy has also made substantial headway. However, there are also places which have a weak collective economy because they have not paid sufficient attention to the matter. We must make the best of the situation and develop the collective economy according to local conditions. For instance, we may develop a collective developmental economy by using the collective's hill and water resources to run collective tree farms, orchards, and grazing grounds, or develop a collective processing economy by developing village industries and the processing of agricultural products so as not to compete with big industries for raw materials and energy. Judging from many localities' practice, as the collective economy strengthens, the content of rural socialized services is also increased and enriched. We must make it clear to the rural cadres and masses that, in order to strengthen the collective economy, we must develop production and increase the collective's accumulation, and must not simply pool together the land, labor, and farm implements under separate management, still less practice "egalitarianism and the indiscriminate transfer of resources." Only in this way can we bring about a benign cycle, where better services are provided through the strengthening of the collective economy, and the collective economy is strengthened through the provision of better services.

The development of socialized services is completely in accord with the strengthening of the unified functions of rural collective economic organizations. The two complement each other. In recent years, Anhui Province has, on the basis of stabilizing the household contract system, paid attention to the functions of unified management by formulating and implementing a series of measures for deepening the reform. For instance, in 1986, the provincial government adopted the "Decision on Restoring the Irrigation Facilities in Areas North of the Huai He" in view of the serious damage and declining performance of the irrigation facilities there. Over the past five years, the authorities in places north of the Huai He have mobilized the masses to restore wells and irrigation facilities. Through the establishment of a collective management and maintenance system, they have

restored over 80,000 motor-pumped wells and greatly increased their ability to resist natural disasters. In many localities, the leadership assumed responsibility at each level, formulated plans, organized labor, and managed construction in a unified way, organized the vast numbers of peasants to cooperate in building water conservancy projects and engaging in infrastructure construction in a big way during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period. Between 1986 and 1989, new breakthroughs were made each year in the province's scale and performance of farmland water conservancy construction. During this period, improvements were made on more than 8 million mu of land where control of flooding was carried out and on over 12 million mu of irrigated areas, making a net increase of 2.64 million mu in effective irrigated acreage. In the spring of 1990, the masses put together 250 million yuan and invested 527 million working days in agricultural capital construction. Afforestation was also carried out in a unified way, with the provincial government forwarding the slogan "Do Away With Barren Hills in Five Years and Make Anhui Green in Eight Years." Various localities formulated their own implementation programs and signed letters of responsibility at each level. The province used to have 18 million mu of barren hills. After two years of hard work, over 3 million mu of these hills have been afforested. At the same time, the "two-field system" was tried out and rural cooperative economic organizations were established on a trial basis in a number of places. In the course of deepening the reform, organizations providing socialized agricultural services came into being in many places to meet the peasants' needs. According to incomplete statistics, 80 percent of small towns and townships and 60 percent of administrative villages have established various types of service organizations and service economic entities, which have provided the peasants with excellent services. In recent years, they have participated in the breeding of hybrid rice and the popularization of farming techniques, popularized the cultivation of hybrid rice on over 84 million mu, and increased paddy production by 3.175 billion kilograms, accounting for more than 40 percent of the increase in grain output during the period. In 1990, the agricultural-economic service system alone purchased and sold various types of capital goods and agricultural products worth 230 million yuan, and collected and paid out 370 million yuan for the peasants.

III

How should we establish and develop rural socialized service systems? In Anhui's case, the practice differs from place to place, but Chuxian Prefecture's experience is more successful than the rest. The prefecture's personnel correctly handled the relationship between "separate" and "unified" management when implementing the overall contract system and gradually established and perfected socialized service systems as production developed. Their specific method was as follows: They strengthened the functions of "unified" management throughout the entire process of agricultural production

and gradually brought about "six unified aspects" in the prefecture. These are: Unified arrangements for crop rotation, unified supply of fine species, unified organization of water conservancy construction, unified prevention and treatment of plant diseases and insect pests, unified contracting for fowl and animal epidemic prevention, and unified popularization of science and technology. Cooperative economic organizations and government bodies at various levels actively provided serialized services to individual peasant households and produced good social and economic results. In order to do a good job of unified operation, most of them have set up "six centers and one company," namely service centers for agricultural economy, agricultural technology, agricultural machinery, water conservancy, aquatic production, forestry and orchards, and supply and marketing companies for small town and township enterprises, with the assistance of township governments. These departments complemented each other and provided comprehensive services much welcomed by the masses. We actively popularized throughout the province Chuxian Prefecture's experience in establishing its service systems, and paid attention to the resolution of the following questions on the basis of integrating theory and practice:

First, the need to uphold the principle of taking the collective economy as the mainstay while ensuring the coexistence of diverse economic forms, suit measures to local conditions, and be flexible and diversified when establishing service systems for agriculture. We should encourage the establishment of various forms of multi-sector service organizations while actively developing collective operations. As conditions differ from place to place, different probes should be allowed before deciding on the specifics of establishing service systems. For instance, we may rely on collective economic organizations to establish these systems, leave the job to vocational and functional departments, establish nongovernmental service organizations with scientific and technological backbones and specialized service households at the core, or adopt various forms of joint operations. The key is that we must strive to bring about a marked increase in the peasants' labor productivity through the provision of service. In the establishment of service systems, we may focus on the township or village level; we may establish comprehensive centers that provide omnidirectional service or specialized centers that provide a single service. With regard to the land contracted by the peasants, we may carry out small readjustments to ensure overall stability or not carry out any readjustment at all. Suxian Prefecture's socialized service network, which is gradually taking shape, is a vivid embodiment of this spirit. This service network has "county and district service centers as its core, small town and township service centers as its focus, and village and team service centers as its foundation, which are supplemented by community-run services." Horizontally, this network is divided into levels; vertically, it is divided into trades.

Second, the need to run well operational entities aimed at serving the people. Socialized service systems have the dual function of providing services and accumulating funds for the collective economy. As such, they must persevere in taking service as their aim and business as a prop, and follow the road of developing commercialized entities and enterprises. If they concern themselves only with business, do not provide service, and take profit-making as their sole aim, they will depart from the fundamental orientation for service systems. Conversely, if they provide service without engaging in business, the service systems will have difficulty continuing due to lack of economic support. Thus, we must organically combine service and business by "running entities around the task of providing service, and promoting service by running entities well." Services are to be charged according to reasonable standards. On no account must we extort money from the peasants on the pretext of providing service. Still less must we cheat and even harm the peasants by providing sham or inferior service. Places which have a strong collective economy, well-developed small town and township enterprises, and abundant "industrial revenue set aside for aiding agriculture" may also provide free services to the peasants.

Third, the need to take positive and steady steps and refrain from rashness. In places with a weak economic foundation, we may proceed from providing single services which are most needed by the peasants and are most helpful to the development of production, then move on to multilevel services before, during, and after production, and before ultimately offering comprehensive services involving production, science and technology, circulation, and consumption. We should move gradually, a step at a time, as production develops, and must not be overanxious for quick results. At the same time, attention must be paid to coordination with other work in the rural areas, particularly the strengthening of political power at the grassroots level, in order to achieve better results.

Fourth, the need to effectively strengthen leadership over the establishment of rural service systems. This is the key to improving socialized services. Establishing socialized service systems involves various levels and aspects. It is a complete systems engineering project. A particularly important question in this regard is how we can organically combine the production and operational activities of the peasants with state planning and market needs using the provision of services as the carrier, and explore the optimum meeting point between the planned economy and market regulation. At present, we should concentrate our efforts on the following four matters: 1) Formulate development programs. As social and economic conditions vary from place to place, the foundations for the establishment of service systems also differ. We must proceed from reality and formulate development programs for the establishment of local service systems in accordance with the level of economic development, the peasants' educational background, the natural and geographical environment, the demand for

services, and other factors. 2) Use the experience of selected units to promote work in the entire area. We must use typical models as guidance and run experimental projects at every level. Through pilot studies, we should collect first-hand information on the establishment of service systems, sum up new experience, and promote the experience in the whole area. 3) Strengthen guidance and management over the service organizations. We must emphasize promoting the service organizations' self-development, straighten out the chains of command between central and regional authorities with the coordination of the departments concerned, and rationally readjust the distribution of interests. 4) Creatively formulate and improve new policies and measures in light of the need to deepen the reform and develop production and make a continuous effort to create a suitable internal and external environment for the establishment and development of rural service systems.

Grasp the Essence of Lei Feng's Spirit, Carry Out Learn-From-Lei-Feng Activities in an Intensive, Sustained Way

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[Article by Liu Zhenhua (0491 2182 5478), Fushun CPC Committee secretary]

[Text] Last fall, Comrade Jiang Zemin went to Fushun on an inspection tour. There, he visited the Lei Feng Memorial Hall and delivered an important speech. In his speech, he pointed out that in learning from Lei Feng we must grasp the essence of his spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people and of selfless devotion. He urged the whole party, the whole Army, and the whole nation to persistently learn from Lei Feng. His speech fully reflected the desires of the broad masses and the objective needs of the times. It also charted the direction in which activities of learning from Lei Feng are to be further developed. As the birthplace of the spirit of Lei Feng, Fushun has the responsibility and the duty to promote this spirit.

Lei Feng was a communist fighter nurtured by the party and Mao Zedong Thought and an outstanding representative of the finest of the socialist period. He spent the best years of his life, from the time he first joined the People's Liberation Army to his sacrifice, on duty in the city of Fushun, where he developed the spirit of Lei Feng which embodied the traits of the times. This spirit represents the inheritance and continuation, under new historical conditions, of the spirit of Zhang Side [1728 1835 1795] and Norman Bethune of the revolutionary war years. It is precisely on account of this spirit that the people of Fushun have cherished his memory and showed their love and esteem for Lei Feng these last 30 years. Although the spirit of Lei Feng has been devastated and distorted in the course of trials and hardships, and the campaign to learn from Lei Feng has been subject to all sorts of interference, the people of Fushun

have never stopped learning from Lei Feng, and the spirit of Lei Feng has become a powerful spiritual drive for the development of material and spiritual civilization in our city. Summing up the practice of learning from Lei Feng over the past 30 years, we have the following observations to make:

1. We Must Continuously Resolve Problems of Understanding in Learn-From-Lei-Feng Activities and Enhance Our Awareness in Learning From Him

During the 1960's, in response to the great call of the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao on "learning from Comrade Lei Feng," our city launched the campaign to learn from Lei Feng with great vigor, as did other parts of the country. This campaign greatly changed the general mood of society. During the 10 years of turmoil, the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did their utmost to negate and distort the spirit of Lei Feng, gravely twisted the image of Lei Feng as though he were a clay figurine, and castrated the spirit of Lei Feng. Since Lei Feng's spirit had already struck deep roots in the hearts of the people of Fushun, many cadres and the masses and youngsters still used Lei Feng's words and deeds and Lei Feng's spirit to guide and urge themselves on even under such adverse conditions. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the spirit of Lei Feng was restored to its true color through efforts to put things right. This further strengthened the determination and confidence of the people of our city to learn from Lei Feng. Under the new situation of reform, opening the country to the outside world, and developing the socialist commodity economy, however, some cadres and people developed all sorts of confused ideas in their understanding and interpretation of the spirit of Lei Feng. Chief among these ideas were: First, that the spirit of Lei Feng is "outmoded" and behind the times and that "people in the 1980's should not be emulating a model from the 1960's." Second, that the spirit of Lei Feng is "ahead of the times," and that "it is impossible to emulate a communist model during the primary stage of socialism." Third, the "antagonistic" view that the promotion of the spirit of Lei Feng is not conducive to the development of the commodity economy and the reform and open policy. Practice has enabled us to realize that, unless confused ideas about the spirit of Lei Feng are straightened out and ideological obstacles are removed, learn-from-Lei-Feng activities will come under attack and be negated.

In order to unify understanding, we have renewed our unrelenting efforts to publicize and conduct education on the spirit of Lei Feng. In recent years, the relevant departments of the city party committee have printed tens of thousands of publicity pamphlets on the deeds of Lei Feng and collated valuable historical materials totaling some 400,000 characters on the life and deeds of Lei Feng. They have also compiled and published *A Guide to Learning From Lei Feng*, *A Chronicle of Lei Feng*, *A Pictorial Album of Lei Feng*, *Poems and Essays of Lei Feng*, and the book *Lei Feng* for distribution at the

grassroots level. Last year, an "Exhibition on the Achievements of Fushun in Learning from lei Feng During the Past 30 Years" was held in the city. Through effective propaganda and education, people have come to understand Lei Feng and his spirit better and have increased their awareness in learning from him.

In addition, we have also conducted discussions, theory seminars, social surveys, and other functions in an effort to clarify, with specific problems in mind, some of the confused and erroneous ideas encountered in learn-from-Lei-Feng activities. These have eliminated some of the ideological obstacles to learning from Lei Feng. In recent years, extensive discussions on "the spirit of Lei Feng and the spirit of the times" have been held in Fushun on such issues as the relationship between Lei Feng's spirit and the spirit of the times, the relationship between Lei Feng's spirit and the reform and open policy, and the significance of carrying forward Lei Feng's spirit during the new period. A number of inter-regional and intercity theory seminars on learning from Lei Feng have also been held. People have reached a consensus on the essence and quintessence of Lei Feng's spirit. They unanimously hold that the kernel of Lei Feng's spirit, namely, pledging one's loyalty to the party, cherishing socialism, the style of hard work and plain living, selfless devotion, and the determination to serve the people wholeheartedly, represents the concentrated expression of the virtues of the Chinese nation and the fine traditions of our party. Lei Feng's spirit not only shines with the radiance of communist ideas and reflects the advanced nature of the proletariat and the vivid traits of the times, but also has profound national characteristics and a broad mass nature. It is highly practical and reflects the yearning for and pursuit of a noble life. History and reality have both demonstrated that the spirit of Lei Feng is the valuable spiritual wealth of our nation. It is the powerful spiritual pillar that rallies the people of the whole nation to cherish their motherland and unswervingly follow the socialist road. The spirit of Lei Feng has exerted tremendous influence and played an important role in the political and social life of our country. Today, in our efforts to develop the commodity economy, implement the reform and open policy, and strengthen the development of socialist ideology and culture, particularly when confronted with the rigorous tests of "peaceful evolution" and counter-"peaceful evolution," it is all the more important that we take Lei Feng as our example, do our bit for our party, share the worries of the nation, be clear about what to love and what to hate, honestly discharge our official duties, engage in hard struggle and plain living, resist the inroads of bourgeois ideas and all unhealthy tendencies, and develop good moral ethics in society. In this way, we can promote the continuous development of our socialist cause and become invincible. Around 1985, some people put forward the question of whether or not we can still learn from Lei Feng while developing the planned socialist commodity economy. We are obliged to give our own answer to this question. In order to answer this

question, we organized more than 100 party and government cadres and theorists to go deep into various trades and professions to conduct surveys on learn-from-Lei-Feng activities. They analyzed dozens of typical cases and prepared convincing reports of investigation for distribution to the grassroots units. Through these materials taken from the living reality, we convinced the cadres and the masses that the collectivist moral principles embodied in the spirit of Lei Feng were the inevitable reflection of the socialist economic base in human relationships. In order to develop the socialist commodity economy, we must resist and oppose the influence of decadent bourgeois ideas and undesirable behavior such as putting the individual above everything else, thinking that money is everything, and benefiting oneself at public expense. Only in this way can the socialist commodity economy develop healthily along the correct track. Through renewed efforts to publicize and conduct education on the spirit of Lei Feng and to clarify confused ideas about this spirit, we have enabled the people of Fushun to further understand the spirit of Lei Feng and have reestablished the orientation for learning from Lei Feng.

2. We Must Continuously Explore New Ways and Means of Learning From Lei Feng in Light of the New Situation and the Characteristics of the New Period

To meet the needs of the new situation and its tasks, we have also taken great care to continuously sum up the experience and lessons in learn-from-Lei-Feng activities at different periods, eliminating those forms that are no longer suitable and deciding on the specific contents, measures, and methods of learning from Lei Feng according to the new characteristics of ideological and political work in the new period. Over the past 10 years, we have combined our learn-from-Lei-Feng activities with activities of social practice while implementing the party's basic line. When organizing learn-from-Lei-Feng activities, we have always insisted that they be combined with the central tasks of the party, with problems of a universal nature that concern the masses, and with regular education for the populace in an effort to organize activities that are influential and effective and which bear the characteristics of the times. In order to more effectively uphold the four cardinal principles and criticize bourgeois liberalization, the Propaganda Department of the city party committee has been paying special attention in recent years to the essence of learning from Lei Feng when launching socialist education activities under the theme of "With the Motherland in Our Hearts." The promotion of Lei Feng's exemplary deeds in cherishing the party and socialism was taken as an important aspect of these activities. These have produced good results through extensive publicity in such forms as quizzes and televised competitions on special topics. In light of the serious abuses prevalent in different trades—a situation strongly resented by the masses—we organized a "Lei Feng Cup" competition with better service and opposition to malpractices in trades as its theme. The catch phrase of "Learn From Lei Feng at Every Post, Foster the New Style in All Trades"

was adopted for this competition. More than 300,000 people participated in the competition, with another million people taking part in supervision. This also produced good social effects. Last year, in view of growing complaints about the city's bus, tram, and train services, we developed activities of "jointly running civilized routes of the Lei Feng style" by pooling the efforts of the public bus company, tram and train services, public security sections, and responsible units along the routes. This won the acclaim of the whole city. In order to boost the party's prestige among the masses and increase the rallying force of party organizations, we launched "Party Members' Contribution Day" activities and built a 35-li "Lei Feng Boulevard and eight promenades on the two banks of the Hun He for the benefit of the city's population and their descendants. These activities, which were conducted in close conjunction with the party's central tasks, and which were rich in the flavor of the times and reflected the aspirations and demands of the masses, had promoted the healthy development of learn-from-Lei-Feng activities.

In order to meet demands for development of the socialist commodity economy in the new period, we must, in launching learn-from-Lei-Feng activities, assign an appropriate place to these activities and plan development in stages. Activities are to be upgraded step by step. We must not arbitrarily upgrade the activities and put forward impractical demands and must resolutely oppose erroneous tendencies to wittingly or unwittingly play down the importance of the drive or to think that it is not essential. We must emphasize the need to proceed from reality, and determine the content, principles, and methods of learning from Lei Feng according to the new characteristics of ideological and political work in the commodity economy. We must strive to suit learn-from-Lei-Feng activities to the needs of the times, guide action according to circumstances, and emphasize the need to adopt the dialectical materialist standpoint in profoundly understanding and correctly handling the dialectical relationship between the spirit of Lei Feng and the new ideas of the new period. For instance, we must foster revolutionary ideals while upholding the principle of material interests; advocate the spirit of selfless devotion while stressing the principle of compensated labor; promote the noble spirit of taking pleasure in helping others while enhancing the spirit of compensation; carry forward the "spirit of the nail" while striving to achieve one's personal aspirations; and maintain and carry forward the style of plain living and hard struggle while striving to improve the living standards of the people. Under the new situation, we must adopt diversified forms in launching learn-from-Lei-Feng activities. In accordance with the different areas of movement, different levels of consciousness, different experiences, and different aspirations of the people, we should adopt diverse forms that will be popular with the people. These forms must reflect the different requirements of the people and must be lively, sincere, and natural in order to penetrate and exert a subtle influence on people's thinking.

3. We Must Guide the Cadres and the Masses To Learn the Essence by Grasping What Is of Basic Importance and Learn From Lei Feng by Firmly Planting Our Feet at Our Respective Posts

In order to truly produce good results in learn-from-Lei-Feng activities, an important point to bear in mind is that we must overcome the tendency to emulate the mere form or go through the motions of doing a few good things as we did in the past, and must never resort to external coercion. On the question of learning from the spirit of Lei Feng, we must pay attention to the essence. In other words, we must energetically advocate the spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people, work with selfless devotion, and consciously contribute our strength to socialist modernization. In order to thoroughly learn from Lei Feng, we must combine learn-from-Lei-Feng activities with our duties and take our respective posts as the principal base for learning from Lei Feng. Firmly planting our feet at our respective posts means that we must, like Lei Feng, combine our common ideals with the development objectives and construction tasks of our respective trades, regions, and units, and with our duties and aims in life. We must cherish our work and display the spirit of Lei Feng at our respective posts. Only when Lei Feng's spirit runs through, penetrates, and is dissolved in our respective duties and posts—which happens to be the basis of Lei Feng's spirit and the starting point in learning from this spirit—can we truly learn from the essence of Lei Feng's spirit. If we drift away from our respective posts and neglect our daily routine, it is inconceivable that we can display the essence of Lei Feng's spirit in other situations. Based on this understanding, we have always upheld the correct orientation in learning from Lei Feng. The cadres and the masses are guided to strengthen their faith in the party and in socialism. They are urged to concentrate on learning from Lei Feng his spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people, thinking in line with the party, and being eager to meet the needs of the people. The socialist new style of selfless devotion, taking pleasure in helping others, becoming one with the people, consciously sharing the cares and burdens of the people, plain living and hard struggle, and making coordinated efforts to tide over difficulties is advocated. Just as did Lei Feng, we are to cherish the line of work we are engaged in, firmly plant our feet at our respective posts, fulfill our duties, give no thought to personal gain or loss, and diligently work for the party. With this in mind, we launched activities of "learning from Lei Feng, grasping our own destiny, and cherishing Fushun" throughout the city. Various grassroots units also launched activities of cherishing one's own enterprise and work shift, group, and post, and striving to realize one's "self-value" at one's own post. Everyone was thus placed in an environment of learning from Lei Feng and urged to start with themselves and with things within one's reach. By cleansing the soil immediately beneath our feet, the spirit of Lei Feng penetrated our work and life like life-giving breeze and rain. This has been largely responsible for the improvement in people's ideological and moral quality, the turn for the better in the general mood

of society, the enhanced prestige of the party in the hearts of the people, and improved social and economic results.

4. We Must Maintain a Clear-Cut Stand in Publicizing Advanced Models in Learning From Lei Feng, Enthusiastically Care for and Cherish the Typical Models, and Fully Bring the Exemplary Role of Typical Models Into Play

The practice of learning from Lei Feng has enabled us to realize that an effective way to carry forward the noble ideas and quality of Lei Feng and translate them into conscious actions of the masses is to maintain a clear-cut stand in fostering advanced models of Lei Feng's spirit and, through the exemplary role of typical models, to give visible and tangible form to the spirit of Lei Feng so people will find it easier to learn from Lei Feng. Over the past 30 years, we have always attached importance to the search for advanced typical models that embody the spirit of Lei Feng. In the 1960's and 1970's, a large number of influential advanced personages in learning from Lei Feng emerged in various trades and professions. Since the 1980's, various types of advanced models have mushroomed as citywide activities to learn from Lei Feng unfolded. Whatever the trend in society, we have always taken these people as typical models to learn from. Hu Yuping [5170 3768 5493], a 68-year-old party member and headmaster of Xigeliangshe Kindergarten in Shuncheng District, has been learning from Lei Feng for more than 20 years. Although things have gotten better and better for her since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, she still leads a frugal life. She selflessly donated the 36,000 yuan she had saved to the party organization and to armed forces units and people in disaster-stricken areas. Because of this, she was named a special "10,000-yuan household." Tian Baopu [3944 1405 3877], party member and director of the red brick factory in Daliu Township, Fushun County, was formerly a mid-ranking cadre in the city's state-run brick factory. Six years ago, he took a great risk by contracting for a factory which was on the verge of bankruptcy. He led the staff and workers to engage in hard work and succeeded in putting an end to deficits within the first year. In the second year, the output value of his factory exceeded one million yuan. According to the contract terms, he was entitled to a bonus of 170,000 yuan, but he did not take any of the money. When people urged him to take the money, he said: "Lei Feng set an example on the attitude a communist should adopt toward matters of money. I contracted for this factory not because I wanted more money for myself." His factory reaped excellent economic results these past six years but he remained his old self and donated his entire bonus, which amounted to nearly 1 million yuan, to the state and the people. Some people said the spirit of selfless devotion embodied by these two comrades was too advanced and beyond their emulation. Some even said that the fostering of typical models like them would affect the enthusiasm of the contractors. After study and discussion, members of the city party committee unanimously agreed that we must

esteem and honor the selfless devotion exemplified by Lei Feng in our moral assessment and sense of value. We must energetically commend advanced typical models like Hu Yuping and Tian Baopu who embodied Lei Feng's spirit of selfless devotion and wholeheartedly serving the people. Giving publicity to these kinds of typical models is not only in accord with the unity of practicality and what is advanced, but will help ensure the healthy development of reform and opening the country to the outside world. The fact that the city party committee and city government had taken a clearcut stand by commending these people as pacesetters in learning from Lei Feng had given a great boost to activities of learning from Lei Feng.

The party and government leaders at various levels of our city all view these typical models as valuable treasures. On festive occasions, the principal leaders would call on typical models to pay their respects. They have also highlighted the deeds of these typical models when writing the annals of the city and holding exhibitions. Last year, the city party committee adopted four decisions regarding the question of typical models. These decisions, which have drawn strong response from the masses, are summed up as follows: First, the city party committee resolved to commend, in its own name and in the name of the city government, 20 pacesetters, 100 advanced persons, and 21 advanced collectives in learning from Lei Feng and to energetically publicize their deeds in various ways to make them known to every household. Second, an Army-civilian "association of typical models in learning from Lei Feng" was set up. This created the necessary conditions for typical models to learn from each other, exchange experience, and work together to find new ways and means to launch learn-from-Lei-Feng activities. This also enabled the typical models to step beyond their respective units into society and play a better exemplary role. Third, a "Lei Feng Award" was established to promote the spirit of Lei Feng and give encouragement to outstanding practitioners of the spirit of Lei Feng. Fourth, the city party committee decided to show care and concern to typical models by instructing the departments concerned to resolve, within a given time, problems of work and livelihood that troubled some typical models. In this way, the typical models will find it an honor and a pleasure to be so commended, and this will in turn encourage, stimulate, attract, and incite more people to learn from Lei Feng and to be Lei Fengs. The spirit of Lei Feng will thus encourage and inspire people to work hard and strive for progress.

5. We Must Strengthen Party Leadership and Fully Bring Into Play the Exemplary Role of Party Cadres, Particularly Leading Cadres

Strengthening the leadership of party organizations at various levels over learn-from-Lei-Feng activities and fully bringing into play the exemplary role of party cadres, particularly leading cadres, is a matter of decisive importance. For 30 years, the city party committee has been grasping learn-from-Lei-Feng activities as a regular

task of primary importance. In addition to assigning its Propaganda Department and the city's office for decorum to take special charge of this task in coordination with workers, youth, and women organizations, systematic deployment and arrangement for citywide learn-from-Lei-Feng activities were made early each year in the name of the city party committee. Learn-from-Lei-Feng activities were reviewed and summed up at the end of each year to determine the focus for the following year. In March each year, in conjunction with the commemoration of the inscriptions written by proletarian revolutionaries of the old generation for Comrade Lei Feng, a propaganda month for learning from Lei Feng was held when concentrated efforts were made to publicize, learn from, and conduct education on Lei Feng's spirit. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the city party committee further strengthened its leadership over learn-from-Lei-Feng activities. In 1986, the city party committee and city government included learn-from-Lei-Feng activities in the city's Seventh Five-Year Plan and emphasized the need to bring into full play the advantages enjoyed by our city in learning from Lei Feng in an effort to promote spiritual and material development in our city. In 1988, under the backdrop of the unchecked spread of bourgeois liberalization, the city party committee formulated a "Program for the Development of Socialist Ideology and Culture" for our city, clearly stipulating that learning from Lei Feng was to be taken as a main task in the building of ideology and culture in our city. It also provided for the strengthening of learn-from-Lei-Feng organizations. Subsequently, "Learn-from-Lei-Feng Societies" and a "Lei Feng Foundation" were set up to further push forward the healthy development of learn-from-Lei-Feng activities in the whole city.

The key to ensuring the intensive and sustained development of learn-from-Lei-Feng activities is for party cadres, particularly leading cadres, to take the lead in learning from Lei Feng. Leading party, government, and Army organs at various levels of our city not only issued documents and put forward demands, but also set an example in everything and relied on the image of their hard-working, impartial, honest, and devoted cadres to affect and lead the whole city in developing learn-from-Lei-Feng activities in depth. In 1988, the city party committee made the call to put a check on extravagant weddings. As many as 645 leading cadres from the city party committee and other government departments signed the proposal and expressed their resolution to end the unhealthy practice of arranging extravagant weddings for their children. In the course of economic improvement and readjustment, the city party committee and city government called on the city to work hard and practice frugality. Comrades of the city Communist Youth League Committee sewed the banners for citations themselves, while the city party committee's Propaganda Department persisted in recycling all used envelopes. Last year, the city party committee instituted

the practice of leading cadres' participation in learn-from-Lei-Feng activities and took performance in learning from Lei Feng as an important criterion in the assessment of party organizations and leading bodies at various levels. Party members are required to report on their progress in learning from Lei Feng at party-life meetings and consciously accepted the supervision and scrutiny of party organizations. Leading cadres at and above the county level all have their own plans worked out for learning from Lei Feng, in which learn-from-Lei-Feng activities are combined with the strengthening of party building and the maintenance of close ties to the masses. Leading cadres at all levels all took the lead to go down to the grassroots units, bringing their work with them. There, they found their place in which to serve and did things of real benefit to the enterprises and the masses, such as helping solve problems of water, heat, and gas supply, transport, and housing. Their efforts were immensely welcomed by the masses. The fact that leading cadres at various levels have taken the lead to learn from and practice Lei Feng's spirit and set an example for the masses has greatly increased the rallying force, appeal, and influence of organizers of learn-from-Lei-Feng activities, and has enabled them to launch these activities in greater depth.

Although learn-from-Lei-Feng activities have achieved gratifying results in the past 30 years, they still fall far short of the requirements of the new period and the expectations of the masses. In the new year, we must conscientiously implement the spirit of the Seventh Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, bring into full play the political advantages enjoyed by our city in learning from Lei Feng, carry forward our good traditions in learning from Lei Feng, and strive to build our city into a civilized city which embodies Lei Feng's spirit, and make our due contributions toward the national drive to learn from Lei Feng.

The CPC-Led Multiparty Cooperation System Should Be Upheld

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[Text] Why must our nation uphold and perfect the socialist political party system with Chinese characteristics, and why mustn't we practice the dual party or the multiparty system advocated by bourgeois liberals? This is a question of major political principles. To find a scientific answer we must look into our theories and practical experiences.

A political party system is a political format or system used by the governing class of a modern nation. Through the political party holding power the ruling class governs or participates in governing. Today, except for a few countries, most nations implement a political party system.

Western countries have a two-party system (two major parties of the capitalist class take turns governing), and a multiparty system (the country is governed by more than two political parties, together representing the capitalist class). The two-party or multiparty system is built on the foundation of capitalist private ownership and of a system of exploitation. It follows the political principle of capitalist parliamentary democracy. These political parties are the political representatives of the capitalist class. Naturally, they will defend the capitalist system and the basic interests of the capitalist class. Because there are different groups and classes within the capitalist class, various parties are there to defend individual interests. However, when they have to take care of their own proletariat and working people, or when they have to fight against socialism, the capitalist class and its political parties will usually collaborate. Political struggles occur because often there are conflicts of interest among the various financial groups and their political parties. They resolve these struggles by letting political parties fight among themselves during the congressional or presidential elections. The party that wins the majority of seats in the congress or that wins the presidential election forms a government and becomes the governing party. The party that fails to win becomes the opposition party, the party not in power. Whether it is the governing party or the opposition party, they are on the same side when it comes to the basic question of defending the capitalist system. Their disagreements and antagonism exist only on the issue of which party should have the power to govern. Whether the nation practices a two-party or multiparty system, the capitalist class rules. The transference of political power means that the capitalists "take turns in letting their political power go from one hand, while quickly grasping it in the other hand."¹ For the U.S. two-party system, the "model" of capitalist democracy politics, Engels had a profound and revealing explanation: "Two gangs of political opportunists take turns in grabbing political power, using the dirtiest means and working for a most despicable goal. The citizens are too incapacitated to fight against these two large groups of politicians. On the surface these politicians work for their citizens, but in fact they simply run over them and rob them."²

Why do capitalist countries insist on practicing the two-party or multiparty system? This is because:

First, such a political format is most suitable for defending the capitalist economic foundation. The nature of the capitalist class is anything-for-profit. The capitalist goal in life is to squeeze the most surplus value and to obtain the biggest profit possible. It is for this reason that each capitalist is involved in fierce and free competition. Whoever has the largest amount of funds and whoever produces commodities that best meet market demand will win the contest. The contest can go on for a long time. As a result, several or many big financial monopolies are formed, and the competition becomes more heated. In order to have a political system that can match up with such economic competition, the

capitalist class practices the system of two-party or multiparty competition. Represented by a political party or parties, the monopoly with the most financial power, which is able to outline a political plan that suits the whole capitalist class all the time, and which can bewitch and fool the masses, will win the election, go on stage, and govern. This explains why the political party system of capitalist nations is established on the basis of a capitalist economic foundation, and that the purpose of such a system is to serve the capitalist economy. The struggle between the political parties is the political reaction to economic competition.

Second, the capitalist political party system is the means of coordinating the relations among various capitalist groups and for strengthening capitalist rule. The country is alternately run by the two parties because the capitalist class needs to provide the two groups of politicians with an equal opportunity to gain power and to show how they will serve the capitalist class. Meanwhile, through competition the capitalist class can compare the political plans offered by the two parties and compare their past "political achievements." The purpose of having a multiparty system of government is to provide an opportunity for individual financial groups and their political representatives to work out their conflicts, to find their mutual interests, and to maintain relationships. This may work as the showcase of "democracy" in capitalist countries, symbolizing the "unity" of all political parties. Whether it is a two-party or multiparty system, it will be supported and manipulated by financial monopolies. From the amount of money the financial monopolies donate to various political parties, we can find out which political parties they choose to run the government. Because all parties want to have their own people on stage, they fight to win favors from financial groups. "Politics becomes a moneymaking business."³ If you give me financial aid and get me elected, I will provide you with more profitmaking opportunities when I get to my position. As we can see, the replacement of government in capitalist societies is the product of internal struggles or a result of cooperation among various financial groups and their politicians.

Third, whether it is a two-party or multiparty system, it is the tool capitalists use to fool the people and divert their attention. The countries in the West make a show of their "democracy," "liberty," and "equality." They see their political party system as the embodiment of "democracy" and promote it to the whole world. However, as soon as we study the system a bit, we will discover its true colors. The democratic system of the capitalist class, including all political formats such as general elections, the parliamentary system, delegation of power, and the political party system, is merely a cover. It does not and will not change the essence of the capitalist class and its political parties. Their superior position in the government and their political power will remain unchanged. For instance, elections are manipulated by the major political parties belonging to the capitalist class. Candidates are selected by the capitalists

and financially supported by the monopolies. Voters are "free" to elect the candidates, but they are not free to select someone they trust. On the surface, elections look quite "democratic." The candidates "post themselves" everywhere. They persuade, lecture, and try to attract more votes. They debate on television, expressing their viewpoints and attacking their opponents. We can say that they put on a good show. However, the essence of an election is that it is paved with money and backed by financial support. In the United States, the average cost of getting elected as a congressman is several hundred thousand U.S. dollars, several million if it is for senate election. The cost of getting elected as President is close to \$20 million. Those who want to run in the congressional or presidential elections must either be rich themselves or be sponsored by big financial groups. Otherwise there is no way they can even be candidates, let alone be elected. Marx pointed out, "The force of the capitalist class is from money alone. Therefore if they want political power they will make money the only standard to measure man's legal ability."⁴ Or, for instance, the parliament is controlled by one or more major political parties from the capitalist class. The government is formed by the party which has the most seats in the parliament or by the party which wins the presidential election. The working class and working people will not get into the parliament or be accepted by the cabinet. Lenin sharply pointed out the situation: "The true essence of the capitalist parliamentary system is that every few years the capitalist class decides who will get into the parliament to oppress and suppress the people."⁵ Moreover, the two-party or multiparty system is an effective political format because it diverts people's antagonism against capitalist rule. When the people become too unhappy and the situation may affect the capitalist-run government, a general election will be held and the government will be replaced. This way, the people will direct all their discontent and antagonism toward the previous government, and invest their hopes in the new government. And the original opposition party will look as if it stands with the people. It will attack the previous government and at the same time promise that the party will "fight for the public interest" as soon as it has political power. Afterward, people refocus their minds, the opposition party gets to govern, and the capitalist class continues to rule.

The above fact tells us that the capitalist political party system is not as wonderful as the capitalists claim. It is merely "the end result of internal struggles within the capitalist class. No one fights for the interests of the working people... The system works in such a way that the country is unable to concentrate all its energy; as a result, a major part of this energy is consumed in mutual contradiction and destruction."⁶ Capitalists must hang on to their political system if they want capitalism to remain and if they want political power. The political party system of the capitalist countries wears a "democratic" overcoat. People who are from socialist countries and who do not understand the characteristics of this political party system can easily be fooled and bewitched

by it. This is why capitalist countries consider the system a political breakthrough that will "evolutionize" socialist nations.

There is a reason for the existence of the two-party and multiparty system in Western countries. Since it is built on the foundation of a capitalist economy, its political format is suitable for a capitalist government and will not be applicable in socialist countries. We must realize that our country, with a socialist economic foundation, with a political system based on the people's democratic dictatorship, and with the use of scientific theories of Marxism, demands the leadership of the Communist Party who reflects and represents the interests of the working class and the entire nation. The party is the proletarian pioneer. Its great mission is to serve wholeheartedly the people and communism. This is why the party is our leader. Both history and reality tell us that without the Communist Party there will be no New China. Without the Communist Party there will be no socialist modernization. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Without the party leadership, we will have no New China... Without party leadership, we will be deprived of a correct political line. Without party leadership, the political situation will not be stable and united. Without party leadership, it will be impossible to encourage a spirit of hard work and growth. Without party leadership, we will be unable to establish a work team that is Red and expert, with members who are knowledgeable and capable in their professional field. If so, there will not be a strong enough force to provide leadership for the socialist four modernizations, for unification of the motherland, and for the struggle against hegemonism."⁷ As we can see, if we want to uphold the socialist system, we must uphold Communist Party leadership and government. This truth is proven by the positive and negative historical experience of the 70-year history of the socialist system.

The history of the new democratic revolution and the accomplishments of socialism tell us that a two-party or multiparty system will not work in China. After we won the war against Japan, our party made a political offer to the then governing power, the KMT [Kuomintang]. We suggested that all parties, including the democratic parties without political status, should form a coalition government. The KMT pretended to talk "cooperation" with us while secretly mobilizing their military forces to attack the liberated regions, hoping to destroy us. At the same time, people from the democratic parties and people who were not affiliated with any parties but were sympathetic to the democratic cause were persecuted. Under these circumstances, we were forced to strike back and start the people's liberation war. The liberation war lasted more than three years and 8 million KMT military troops were destroyed. The whole country, except for Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, was freed. The People's Republic of China was established. The Communist Party formed the new government and ruled, while other democratic parties pitched in to help. After the founding of our nation, we continued with the system in

which the Communist Party provided leadership, with other parties cooperating and offering political consultation. But upholding this system was not always easy. We went through several big struggles before we could begin to strengthen and expand the system. One of the struggles was the anti-rightist struggle in 1957. In 1956 socialist reform had just begun to show success and the socialist system had barely been established. While the party was going through rectification, some bourgeois rightists decided to take this opportunity to launch a fierce attack on the party and on socialism. One of their political propositions was that we should switch to the Western political party system, a system described as "taking turns in being the dealer." We fought back and initiated the anti-rightist struggle. It was true that we made the mistake of expanding the struggle, but we had to correct the mistake. And we did. The struggle was an absolute necessity at the time. If we had not fought back and if the rightists had succeeded in conspiring against the communist leadership, the result would have been disastrous. Another of these struggles was the Cultural Revolution. During the Cultural Revolution the party's leadership status theoretically remained the same, but in effect "the party was thrown into confusion." The party leadership was partially taken away by Lin Biao and replaced by the "gang leaders and gang government" of the "gang of four."⁸ These two counterrevolutionary groups (that is, the two counterrevolutionary factions within the party) manipulated and supported continuous factional struggles. People from two factions organized fights all over the country. The chaos was like a "general civil war," and the theme was "down with everything." Not until the "gang of four" was destroyed could we end the 10 years of turmoil. Since the 11th CPC Central Committee's Third Plenary Session the party has resumed, strengthened, and improved its leadership. We have started a new development stage. Another struggle was the 1989 turmoil and counterrevolutionary riot. The riot organizers shouted and demanded the "dismissal of the Communist Party as the governing power and installation of a multiparty system." Their "Autonomous College Students Union" and "Autonomous Workers Union" were, in fact, reactionary political organizations. Their plan was to establish their base and create antirevolutionary political parties. They would then snatch political power away from the proletariat class. We put down the riot and destroyed their conspiracy. After this treachery, the counterrevolutionary elements escaped from the country. They started a reactionary political party called the Federation for Democracy in China. They shout and yell. They hope to sneak back into China and overthrow the Communist Party. Of course, this is merely wishful thinking on their part. But for the Chinese people this is a rare negative lesson.

The focus of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist systems is whether we should uphold Communist Party leadership and the party's governing status, or whether we should have a two-party or multiparty system. This struggle can mean the life or death of our socialist nation. This is the basic question, we should

neither be vague nor should we waver. Once we waver and give in, the result will be beyond our control.

The CPC-led multiparty cooperative and political consultative system was born during the revolutionary storm and formatted after the founding of New China. We strengthened, expanded, and improved the system. Starting from the day the CPC was born, it had to deal with three super-strong enemies: imperialism, feudalism, and capitalism. To overthrow these three big mountains that were suppressing our people, the party could depend only on the people's army, which recruited workers and peasants as its members. At the same time, the party had to unite the petit bourgeois, national bourgeois, and their political representatives—various democratic parties and patriotic democrats of different nationalities and from many professional fields. These people formed a general revolutionary united front, led by the Communist Party. Our eight democratic parties were formed during the new democratic revolutionary movement. Except for the China Party for Public Interest, established in 1925, and the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, established in 1930, the China Democratic League, China Democratic National Construction Association, China Association for Promoting Democracy, Jiusan Society, Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, and the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang were all formed between 1941 and 1948. Under our party's banner of a united revolutionary front, all these parties cooperated with our party and together we fought against Japanese invaders and KMT reactionaries. This shows us that our political party system was built on the basis of democratic, revolutionary struggle. After 28 years of very difficult struggle, our new democratic revolution finally scored a total victory. New China was founded and the people were their own masters. The First National Congress of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, participated in by the Communist Party, various democratic parties, different nongovernmental groups, the People's Liberation Army, and people of all nationalities and professional fields, passed a "Common Program." This program was the formal announcement of the founding of the central people's government and the People's Republic of China, and of the establishment of the multiparty cooperative system under Communist Party leadership. After New China was founded, individual democratic parties participated in the people's government and worked for the consultative conference. Everyone contributed their effort to safeguard the people's democratic dictatorship, to push forward socialist reform, and to promote socialist construction.

In 1956, the mission of socialist reform was basically completed, and the democratic parties' social foundation began to make essential changes. The political coalition of the democratic parties was formed partly by socialist workers and partly by patriots loyal to socialism. The CPC led the coalition. The coalition cooperated as much as possible with the Communist Party. It maintained intimate and friendly relations with the CPC and participated in political consultation. With socialism as the

foundation, we installed a socialist political party system combining the Communist Party and other democratic parties. Afterward, the democratic parties and our Communist Party went through three difficult years together and suffered 10 years of calamity during the Cultural Revolution. Finally came the new dawn. During the last decade of the modernization program and the reform and opening up policy, the democratic parties followed the party leadership and cooperated with the party. A new situation was created and new victories scored. History and reality both tell us that "all democratic parties stayed with the CPC all through troubled times and difficulties. This is a proven fact. These parties are the CPC's intimate comrades-in-arms. The "CPC Central Committee Opinion on Upholding and Perfecting the CPC-led Multiparty Cooperation and Political Consultative System" was announced over a year ago. Since then, the system has been further improved and developed. Democratic consultation has become more systematic and regulated. Cooperation between the Communist Party and democratic parties has become more intimate. Political participation and consultation grows wider and wider. More and more democratic party members and people with no party affiliation are assigned high-ranking government positions.

The CPC-led multiparty cooperative system is based on a socialist economy, and is the political system that suits China's national conditions. A socialist economic structure with Chinese characteristics is based on public ownership, distribution according to work, and a planned economy. This economic structure determines the difference between everyone's basic interests and the overall benefits. CPC-led multiparty cooperation represents the political connection between economic and profit relations. The CPC is the embodiment of socialist production and public interest. Therefore, at the upper strata of construction, that is, at the political and ideological level, the Communist Party must maintain its leadership and governing power. On the other hand, democratic parties are the bridges connecting socialist workers and socialist patriots. They are followers and political participants. The Communist Party's leadership status and political power were formulated during times of struggle. This fact is recognized and endorsed by all democratic parties and all people. The party embodies the quality of the working class pioneer. All this tells us that the CPC's leadership status is irreplaceable because of its progressive quality. This progressiveness can be explained in two ways. First, the leading force that propels the proletariat forward is Marxist guidance. The party can always "understand the condition, progress, and general outcome of the proletarian movement."⁹ Second, the party represents the overall interests of the proletariat class and the masses. It is the center that combines individual interests with general interests, immediate with long-term interests. The CPC's 70-year history of struggle proves that the party is progressive and its leadership is correct. It was that proper leadership which helped the Chinese people win a great victory in the new democratic revolution, end the division and

confusion in the last 100 years of Chinese history, and, except for the people in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, unite the people of all races. It was the CPC's correct leadership that established and strengthened socialism. Our launching socialist modernization has accomplished world-acclaimed success. All this shows us that no other social political force can take the Communist Party's place provide leadership, and govern.

The CPC-led multiparty cooperative system is immensely superior.

First, it improves Communist Party leadership and makes good use of all democratic parties. The prerequisite of this system is to uphold Communist Party leadership and to ensure that China follows a socialist course. The system also guarantees and perfects the format of multiparty cooperation. Multiparty cooperation is an important factor that strengthens and improves Communist Party leadership. This is also an effective way to build socialist democratic politics. As the governing power, the party must prevent any negative phenomenon from happening and avoid the tendency to separate itself from the people. Therefore, it is especially important that the party gets to hear different opinions and criticism and makes itself available for supervision. The flesh-and-blood relationship between the party and the people must be kept intact. Democratic party members and nonmembers play an important role; that is, to communicate the people's opinions and needs, particularly those of the intellectuals, to the party and to fulfill the supervisory function. Many members of the democratic parties are scholars, experts, and well-known people, and the people they associate with are usually intellectuals from various professions. It is to the party's benefit to take time to listen to others' opinions and voluntarily accept supervision by others. Democratic parties will be more willing to participate in politics and to make known their opinions on political matters, and intellectuals will be more enthusiastic about socialism. The system also helps improve the ethics of party and government organizations and helps get rid of corrupt practices. It manifests the party's superior tradition and is the force that links Overseas Chinese to China and unites the country. We must understand that the functions of the democratic parties are to criticize and supervise the Communist Party. But this must be done in the spirit of mutual cooperation. Through criticism and supervision we improve the multiparty system and further socialist construction. This principle is different from the one in Western countries where the governing party is supervised by political parties in opposition.

Second, our political system can make us more scientific and democratic in making national policy, so that we can avoid making incorrect decisions. In the 41 years of our nation's history, particularly in the 12 years since the 11th CPC Central Committee's Third Plenary Session, when our party had to set a political policy, it has always

engaged the leaders of democratic parties and representatives from other nonparty factions in political consultation and democratic discussion. Consultation and discussion help us find our common ground. More important, after consultation and discussion, the policies we make will be more suitable to our national conditions. This will make it easier for us to implement them. Besides, our party holds regular or irregular meetings with the leaders and members of the democratic parties. We talk, we open our hearts, we ask for ideas, and we listen to criticism. Thus, we communicate our minds, obtain mutual understanding, and improve our work. Just last year alone, the CPC Central Committee hosted 12 meetings, including consultative conferences, talks, and opinion-exchange meetings. For the last decade, our party has been making correct policies; mistakes were relatively few. This phenomenon occurs because the CPC-led multiparty cooperative and political consultative system has been gradually improved. In order for the democratic parties to be engaged in political participation and discussion, the Central Committee has asked that state organizations, administrative units, judicial offices, procuratorial offices, and political consultative conferences treat democratic party members the same as Communist Party members; both should have real positions, authority, and responsibilities. There are people, inside and outside of the country, who would say that democratic parties are "a decorative item" in Chinese political institutions. This has been proven to be wrong. Our practical experience tells us that our political party system is far superior to the Western political party system.

In short, CPC-led multiparty cooperation is the product of Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese revolution and construction. Our political party system is socialist and has Chinese characteristics. The system embodies the principle of communist party leadership and at the same time encourages democratic parties to make positive contributions. The system is the result of the political unity of the Chinese working class and of all the people in the nation. Our political party system is here to stay. And the system will continue to improve, along with socialist development. We shall uphold and develop our political party system because this will have an important impact on the long-term stability of our nation.

Footnotes

1. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 11, p. 399.
2. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 2, p. 335.
3. Ibid.
4. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 2, p. 647.
5. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume 25, p. 409.
6. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, 1975-1982*, p. 231.
7. Ibid., pp. 230-231.

8. Ibid., p. 232.

9. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 1, p. 264.

Establish a Correct Sense of Cost

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in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 91 p 32

[Article by Chen Shuimu (7115 3055 2606), originally carried by XUE LILUN [STUDY OF THEORY] No. 1, 1991, published in Harbin City, Heilongjiang Province]

[Text] Since reform was initiated in China, the question of the costs of reform has become one that cannot be sidestepped. In view of development, the phenomenon of costs is not related to reform alone. The course of evolution and development is an objective process which embodies some universal nature. When we observe the phenomenon of costs in depth and in detail in light of the practice of reform, we will find that the various phenomena of costs concerning reform cannot be approached with either a totally negative or positive attitude. To put it more precisely, the costs of reform can be divided roughly into the following three categories:

First, the necessary costs. In reform we may often come across the following case. Sometimes, in order to safeguard general or long-term interests, we need to sacrifice some partial and immediate interests. So, such intrinsic, reasonable, and unavoidable sacrifices are necessary costs for success and progress. This type of "input" is for the purpose of gaining more "output" and will promote the development of things. Therefore such costs are necessary costs in the course of development.

Second, the side-effect costs. All things are unities of opposites, and reform is no exception. The origin of reform is the need to promote what is beneficial and abolish what is harmful. However, in the practice of reform, it is quite common that a certain correct reform can give rise to new disadvantages and shortcomings while eliminating old disadvantages. Such costs can be termed side-effect costs. As far as these side-effect costs as a mixture of advantages and disadvantages are concerned, we must on the one hand recognize that this is a reasonable phenomenon; and, on the other hand, be aware of its negative aspect. It is reasonable because this type of side effect is in a certain sense a natural objective outcome. It reflects the unity of advantages and disadvantages and the unity of contradictions which are mutually dependent and are mixed together under some conditions. This is a state of movement of things in the course of development. Reform is often accomplished through the conflict between advantages and disadvantages. As long as advantages dominate disadvantages, reform is feasible. These side effects are disadvantageous because they are negative factors, which make the reform imperfect. Especially when no measures are taken to inhibit negative factors, the negative influence of these side effects may prevail and thus obstruct the reform or even lead to setbacks.

Third, the costs resulting from faults. By this we mean the costs resulting from human mistakes or faults. Such costs have a negative effect on the fulfillment of the goal of reform. The root cause of such costs, in the final analysis, lies in the discrepancy between subjective cognition and objective reality. Here we must distinguish between two cases. In the first case, reform has been proceeding in the correct direction, but, as many new problems and new contradictions gradually emerge in the course of reform, it takes time for people to understand what is happening. As they cannot foresee the development course of things, they can hardly avoid transient mistakes that will disrupt the overall situation. As long as lessons are drawn and mistakes are corrected in good time, nobody should be reprimanded. In the second case, major or minor mistakes or faults which are avoidable are not avoided simply because one makes subjective assertions and arbitrary decisions without conducting surveys and scientific studies, or because one acts for selfish personal or partial interests. These kind of costs are absolutely unnecessary and unreasonable.

In understanding and treating the question of costs, we should adopt a materialist and dialectical approach. In the first place, we must recognize costs as an objective reality. In the next, we must approach costs from a scientific point of view. It is necessary to make a specific analysis of the costs by considering both aspects of the case. Only in this way will we be able to have an objective and correct understanding of all problems arising from reform, solve them properly, and thus ensure the smooth development of reform.

While Studying Theory, Leading Cadres Should Stress Remolding Their World Outlook

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[Article by Shu Bing (5289 0393) of the Policy Research Office, Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee]

[Text] Strengthening Marxist theoretical study by cadres of the whole party and especially those leading cadres at the county level and above to guarantee that the leadership at various levels of the party and state is firmly in the hands of persons who are devoted Marxists, who are closely linked to the masses, and who put all their efforts into serving the people, is a strategic policy whereby, under the new historical conditions facing our party, we will be able to frustrate the plans of domestic and foreign hostile forces to effect peaceful evolution in our country, and thereby guarantee long-term, stable administration in our country. In order to understand and study the basic situation of Marxist theory study among cadres at or above the county level in our province last year, we went to six counties (Fengyang, Lishi, Fangshan, Linyi, Yongji, and Wanrong) in the two prefectures of Luliang and Yuncheng, and there conducted a survey of 65 prefectural and county leading cadres. We also conducted supplementary investigations in relevant departments directly under the province. From the survey we

believe that in the current major study of Marxist theory throughout the whole party, the following several questions deserve attention.

I. Outstanding Problem Present in Theory Study by Leading Cadres Is To Slight the Need To Remold One's World View

According to our survey, most prefectural and county committees have already established "central study groups" and a certain number of study and examination systems have been established. Since 1985, the majority of prefectural and county leading cadres have, in accordance with demands, done initial study in the basic theories of Marxist philosophy, political economics, and scientific socialism and studied an outline of China's revolutionary history and socialist reform. At present, they are studying various theoretical questions of socialism. In general, the study of Marxist theory by leading cadres at and above the county level has seen a quite good beginning.

However, we also discovered that in the study of Marxist theory by leading cadres at or above the county level, there widely exists the tendency to stress study for the purpose of resolving real problems of their regions or their units, and they overlook the remolding of their own world view. Of the 65 survey subjects, very few spoke of the latter aspect, and, even if they did speak of it, it was in an abstract and empty way without any real content. This lack of attention to using Marxist theory to remold one's own world view was most prominently manifested in cadre training work. Since 1985, the scale of theoretical training for leading cadres at the county level and above in our province has been quite great and the theoretical quality of leading cadres at the county level and above has seen definite improvement. In these six years, our province has sent more than 3,600 leading cadres at the county level and above to the Central Party School and to the provincial party school for study and training. If the persons who went to train at the prefectural and city party schools are added, the number is even greater. However, at the same time, there has been an increasing number of cases of violation of law or discipline by leading cadres at the county level and above in our country. The extremely contradictory social phenomenon of an increase in theoretical knowledge accompanied by an increase in cases of violation of law or discipline certainly leads us to ponder the question: In our cadre training work and in organizing and arranging theory study by leading cadres, we have greatly stressed combining self-study with guidance, with self-study as the main part, and have little stressed combining theory study with criticism and self-criticism, and on correctly carrying out positive ideological struggle. Is this not too biased an approach? Regarding examination and appraisal of theory study by cadres, we stress too much whether they can answer some questions on Marxist theory and pay little attention to whether, in their study, they can remold their world view and transform their nonproletarian values and outlook on life. Is this not missing the true point of examination and appraisal? In

party work, the idea of "Marxism-Leninism as the main topic and tempering of party spirit as the core" has been weakened. Is this an erroneous trend? I believe that it is and that this problem should attract the attention of the whole party, so it can be seriously studied and resolved.

The tendency for leading cadres to ignore the use of Marxist theory to remold their own world view is manifested in the method of theory study and mainly in the fact that they cannot combine theory study with criticism and self-criticism. Regardless of whether we speak of study on the job or leaving one's post to engage in specialized study in schools, often "self-criticism involves setting down the situation, while the criticism of other people involves putting forward hopes for others to meet." Very rarely do the cadres touch on ideological realities involving the remolding of their own world view and the cultivation of party spirit, and very rarely do they engage in serious criticism and self-criticism. Cadres are wary of seeking out their own defects and exposing their own "scars," as they fear that they will thereby lose the trust of the upper levels and the masses, lose face, and lose their "position." Regarding the problems of other comrades, they are incapable, in accordance with the principles of seeking truth from facts, of drawing a clear distinction between right and wrong, of unifying comrades, of adhering to the principle of unity-criticism-unity, and of developing positive ideological struggle. Some are unwilling to criticize in matters which do not involve themselves, and some do not dare criticize for fear of giving offense. Others are not too clean themselves and, fearing that "the mud will fly when the radish is uprooted," do everything they can to avoid criticizing others and seek all sorts of excuses to avoid engaging in such activities.

Actually, when leading cadres study Marxist theory, if they are unable to use it to understand and remold their subjective world, they will be unable to do well in understanding and transforming the objective world. In particular, today, when the phenomenon of corruption within the party is serious, the masses are extremely dissatisfied, and Western anticommunist and antisocialist forces have intensified the implementation of their strategy of peaceful evolution, it would be a mistake of historic significance if one overlooks the major position in theory study of remolding one's world view.

Why is it that in the course of studying Marxist theory, leading cadres look lightly on the remolding of their own world view? After analyzing the survey, we believe it is because of the one-sided nature of their understanding of the guiding role of Marxist theory and of the guiding policy of "linking theory to reality."

Marxist theory is a unity of a scientific world view and methodology and it plays a major role in two basic aspects. On the one hand, it is the methodological base on which the proletarian revolutionary political party formulates a correct line, principles, and policies and establishes scientific leadership methods and work methods. On the other hand, it establishes a scientific

ideology, uses the ideological weapons of communism and socialism to arm the proletariat and the masses, and provides a theoretical weapon to criticize and repel the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. If one sees the study of Marxist theory as only an avenue by which to seek methods to guide work or as "window dressing," rather than a means by which one can use Marxist theory to remold one's world view, to firm one's socialist faith and to raise one's consciousness in serving the people, then not only will no benefit be gained from Marxist theory, but at times such an attitude will be extremely harmful.

In addition, their understanding of "linking theory and reality" is also one-sided. "Reality" is very broad in scope. It includes the realities of China's history, the realities of China's socialist modernization and the international communist movement, the realities of one's own region, department, or unit; it also includes the work realities and ideological realities of individual leading cadres. The study of Marxist theory in light of work realities and ideological realities of individual leading cadres to achieve the aims of improved ideological awareness and strengthened party spirit was originally the correct study style and fine tradition advocated by our party in the rectification movement at Yanan. However, for quite a long time before the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and especially during the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution, this correct policy was subject to serious "leftist" distortion. Actually, "linking theory to reality" innately requires that the study of Marxist theory must be linked to the work realities of the region, and the work realities of the unit and must also be linked to the ideological realities of the leading cadres themselves. Thereby the remolding of leading cadres' world views and the tempering of their party spirit will run through the entire process of Marxist theory study, and their Marxist theory accomplishments will be improved while the cultivation of their party spirit will be strengthened. Looking lightly on the linking of one's own work realities and ideological realities to a conscious remolding of one's world view, or separating the raising of one's theoretical accomplishments and the remolding of one's world view clearly does not accord with the basic meaning of "linking theory to reality."

II. Having Leading Cadres Stress the Remolding of Their Own World View While Studying Theory, Will Play an Irreplaceable Role in Overcoming Negative and Corrupt Phenomena Within Party, in Firming the Socialist Faith of Masses, and in Defeating Plots by Hostile Forces To Effect Peaceful Evolution

Stressing the idea that leading cadres, while studying theory, must place importance on remolding their own world view is one of the important avenues for overcoming negative and corrupt phenomena within the party. Since the beginning of the reforms, a large number of young and middle-aged cadres who lack the tempering of revolutionary struggle have successively moved into leading posts. The replacement of old cadres by new ones has also meant that they have quite quickly moved from

low-level posts to quite high-level posts, and moved from specialized technical posts to leading party and government posts. Through the party's education, the tempering of actual work, and their subjective individual efforts, the Marxist theory level of these comrades has been raised by a certain degree and their leadership capacities have been strengthened. However, as the majority of these comrades grew up during the Cultural Revolution, they have not been subject to systematic education in Marxist theory, and instead they have experienced social realities where Marxism was vulgarized and dogmatized and thus even became a danger in practice. Thus, many of them did not have a good "first impression" of Marxism. Later, although they went through party school training or study at work and cursorily read some works on Marxist theory, they were also subject to the influence of social ideological tides such as the "outdated theory" that negated Marxism and the "factional theory" that belittled Marxism. Thus, they have insufficient understanding of the scientific nature of Marxism. Therefore, in cadre training and theory study, there is a serious lack of practical exploration in consciously remolding one's world view. Faced with new situations whereby they have obtained power, where reform and opening up are under way, and where a socialist commodity economy is being developed, they have relaxed their vigilance toward encroachment by the decadent lifestyles of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes. This has resulted in some people becoming degenerate and corrupt and thereby taking the road of violation of law and discipline. There are deep social reasons as to why these leading cadres violate law and discipline, such as incomplete and deficient policies, systems, and laws, as well as the imperfect nature of intraparty supervision, administrative supervision, legal supervision, media supervision, social supervision, and so on. However, it must be said that a major factor in this is that they have failed to use Marxist theory to arm their minds and they have thus abandoned self-education, self-restraint, self-supervision, and self-transformation.

Stressing the idea that in their theory study leading cadres should remold their own world view is a requirement if they are to inculcate Marxism into the masses in a bold and assured way and if they are to firm the masses' faith in socialism. Clearly, overall there are only a small number of cadres who have been led to violate of law and discipline by ignoring the remolding of their own world view. However, whether we speak in absolute or proportional terms, this small number is still many more than the small number about which we spoke before. Further, these persons are in important posts, have power in their hands and can affect the overall situation, and their influence is quite great. Their capacities and potential for damage, their ability to harm the image of the party, and their ability to poison the social atmosphere are far in excess of the proportion which they constitute in the total number of cadres. "Whatever those above do well, those below will do better." Thus, we absolutely cannot ignore this small number of cadres.

The masses look at realities. They generally understand Marxism from the words and actions of the party members or leading party cadres around them. In the past, Marxism was vividly depicted by the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation characterized by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai and advanced labor models such as Jiao Yulu, Lei Feng, and Wang Jinxi. From the noble actions of these persons, the masses experienced and understood the correctness and great might of Marxism. The reason we stress that leading cadres should pay attention in their study of theory to remolding their world view is that it can play an important role in providing a model to the masses, in strengthening the cohesiveness and centripetal force of the party, and in firming the masses' faith in socialism.

Stressing that in their theory study, leading cadres should pay attention to transforming their world view has especially major significance for successfully defeating the plot by hostile international and domestic forces to effect peaceful evolution in our country. The antagonism between socialism and capitalism in our world is, in the end, an antagonism between two major ideologies. This antagonism is not always manifested in the form of a "cold war" or "hostility," but often distortedly manifested with the outer casing of "friendship" or "mutual benefit." Capitalism has never stopped its ideological infiltration of socialism. The various diplomatic, economic aid, military aid, and subversive activities in which they engage are to a great degree intended as a way to peddle their ideology (including bourgeois outlook on life, values, and decadent lifestyles) and political systems to achieve their strategic goal of peaceful evolution. If we do not clearly recognize this grim reality of struggle in the ideological sphere, the results will be painful to contemplate. In the course of the survey, a retired cadre said, in a profound way: "Capitalism's infiltration of socialism and attempts at peaceful evolution have not begun just recently. Rather, they have gone on continually since we established the PRC. Why did the infiltration not succeed in the past? It was because in Mao Zedong's time, Communist Party members were honest and law-abiding, they diligently served the people, and the people supported them with all their hearts. Why are infiltration and peaceful evolution now dangerous? Is it perhaps because our capacity within the party to combat corruption is now not so strong? If we are to oppose infiltration and guard against peaceful evolution, we first have to remedy our own shortcomings and defects." It is certainly true that "a fort can most easily be attacked from the inside!" However, the sad thing is that at present there are still quite a few leading cadres who lack a clear understanding of this, and they even hide the sickness because they fear the treatment. This is really very dangerous.

III. Today, in Their Study of Theory, Leading Cadres Must Place Remolding of World View in Prime Position and Highlight and Resolve Four Problems of Ideological Understanding

1. The "idea that it has nothing to do with oneself." This understanding is manifested in two ways. The first is that

the study of theory has nothing to do with oneself. Some leading cadres give insufficient attention to the study of Marxist theory, do not have great interest in it, and see it as a "soft task" that one does not really need to do. While they often talk about the need to stress the study of Marxist theory, the enthusiasm is restricted to speeches, meetings, and documents. They only "lead" other people in study and they do not study. These leading cadres often use the excuse that they are too busy at work and when it is time for theory study, they head off somewhere else. If they are forced to attend the study, they sit there and do their office duties, such as reading documents and handling work tasks. More seriously, some individuals, claiming that they have to deal with work assignments and "complete" the task of compiling study notes, fail to attend the study classes and then, after unscrupulously asking other people to do these tasks for them, take a holiday. The second way this is manifested is in the belief that remolding one's world view has nothing to do with oneself. In order to obtain knowledge or as a source for study, some leading cadres occasionally read some Marxist classics. However, their aim is not to raise their own ideological quality and to strengthen the cultivation of their own party spirit. Rather, it is intended as window dressing, so they can parade their knowledge and lecture to other people. Put another way, their study of theory is not so they can transform their world view, but so they can increase their so-called "capital" in terms of contacts and in terms of managing those at lower levels.

2. The "idea of document substitution." Some leading cadres feel that the study of basic Marxist theory and especially the reading of some Marxist classics is far less beneficial than reading newspapers, listening to the radio, and studying documents sent down by the Central Committee and the provincial committee. They see the latter as being of more near-term, specific, and direct use in their work. Thus, they often replace the study of basic Marxist theory with the study of the party's line, principles, and policies. They hardly recognize that the party's line, principles, and policies are formulated in accordance with the guidance of Marxist theory. If one does not study Marxist theory and does not remold one's world view, one's understanding of the party's line, principles, and policies will inevitably be shallow and one will only know what the policies are without knowing why they are thus. If one does not study Marxism and remold one's world view, one's implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies will inevitably be passive and blind and certainly will not involve any creativity. For example, if one does not understand that the mass viewpoint is the basic viewpoint of Marxism, one will not understand that the attitude to the masses is a basic question of stand, world view, and party character. Likewise, one will not understand basic historical materialist principles, such as that historical activities are mass undertakings and that vitally creative socialism is created by the masses themselves. If such a proletarian world view is not established, it will not be possible to firmly and unwaveringly

implement the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Strengthening the Party's Ties to the Masses".

3. The "idea of climbing the ladder." The Central Committee has stressed repeatedly that the "four changes" are standards for the cadre ranks, that becoming more revolutionary must be placed in prime position, and that the achievements of cadres in their theory study must be written into personal files as an important basis for future examination, employment, and promotion. However, many cadres believe that, as far as studying at work is concerned, if such serious and authoritative work as entering cadres' achievements in personal files is to be carried out, a number of technical problems need to be resolved (such as: Which department is to be responsible for completing the personal files? How are improper phenomena such as fake examinations, fake study records, and fake reading notes for cadres' theory study to be guarded against? and so on) and then, even if the results are entered in personal files, are people going to look at them? "When cadres are promoted, sometimes even their work is not examined. Who is going to look at achievements in theory study?" Regarding specialized study in schools away from one's work unit, initially when one entered a party school for a long period of training, it was equivalent to entering the "third echelon." On the one hand, one gained a diploma and on the other hand this was a step to promotion. Thus, people vied to attend such schools and people scrambled for places. Later, as the "posts" gradually filled up, entering a party school to study did not mean that one was going to be promoted. Further, it meant "hardship for one's wife and suffering for one's children" and one might even end up "losing one's position." Thus people were willing to let others go to the party schools and they did their best to avoid it. When arrangements were being made for people to go to the party school for advanced studies, cadres always used the excuse of "being unable to leave work" to decline the offer. In 1988, when the provincial party school held a training course in the theory of the initial stage of socialism, the vacancy rate for leading cadres at the department and bureau level reached 13.5 percent, while the vacancy rate for prefectural and county level leading cadres was 27.3 percent. If training classes are held at a time when posts are being changed and new posts are being arranged, it is even more difficult to get people to attend them. Even those who attend a party school to study do not have their heart in it. Some people even use the opportunity of going to party school to chase connections. These phenomena distortedly reflect the "stepping stone" understanding and "official post" concept seen in theory study.

4. The "idea of complacency and self-satisfaction." Some leading cadres who are quite advanced in years feel that their theory level and theory accomplishments were basically achieved in the 1950's and 1960's and, in guiding work, they feel it is sufficient to rely on this past "foundation" and "stock of theory." Some leading cadres who are quite young believe that, because they

received standard education in the party school and systematically studied basic Marxist theory, it is sufficient just to apply the theories they have learned in practice. These understandings clearly reflect a mood of complacency and self-satisfaction. The study of Marxist theory first requires resolution of the world view question. The establishment of a proletarian world view involves a long process of tempering and at times requires painful ideological struggle. Thus, study is also a long-term process. One cannot just study for a short time. One needs to study for life, to engage in study and remolding until one's old age. Lenin once pointed out: "Of the tasks placed in front of the party, the first is study, the second is study, and the third is also study." When studying Marxist theory, leading cadres must, in the process of transforming the objective world, especially stress remolding their own subjective world and remolding their world view. Only through continual study, through regularly and consciously engaging in the cultivation of party spirit and ideological transformation will it be possible to pass the tests posed by being in power and by reform and opening up, to pass the tests in developing a socialist planned commodity economy, to pass the tests in the struggle between peaceful evolution and anti-peaceful evolution and to become a leader who is truly loyal to Marxism, who serves the people with all his heart, and who is tightly linked to the masses.

Increase the Political Nature of Party Member Activities

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[Article by Li Renshi (2621 0117 0099), Policy Research Office, CPC Central Committee]

[Text] Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, following the normalization of intraparty life, party organizations at various levels have widely accorded with the new situation and demands and put effort into exploring ways to improve the content and forms of party members' activities and in looking at how to draw modern propaganda and education measures into party member activities, so that these activities become more vital and vigorous. This is a pleasing advance and we must in future continue to put efforts into this area. The current problem is that there are a certain number of grassroots-level party organizations which, because for a time they were subject to the influences of ideas which diluted ideological and political work, have only stressed, in carrying out party member activities, that there be diverse forms. They have stressed the intellectual and interest aspects of these activities but given little consideration to how to strengthen the ideological, political, and principled nature of such activities. The party member activities of some units mainly involve walks and tours, viewing movies, and sitting in teahouses. Such practices have already produced many negative effects which have not only weakened the appeal of party member activities, but also diluted the political consciousness of many

party members and weakened the fighting force of party organizations on the political level. In the building of grassroots-level party organizations, this is a problem which should be attended to and resolved.

The CPC shoulders a special political mission. It is a political organization tightly organized in order to complete the political tasks of realizing socialism and communism. It is the ruling party which is leading the people of all nationalities throughout the country in carrying out socialist modernization. This special political nature of the party requires that, in carrying out party activities, all levels of party organization must first consider questions on the political level and closely link them to the political tasks of the party. Only in this way will it be possible to ensure that party organs at all levels will adhere, at all times, to the correct political orientation and will firmly implement the Central Committee's line, principles, and policies at the grassroots level. Only in this way will it be possible to continually raise the political consciousness of party members, centralize the vigor of the whole body of party members in building socialism with Chinese characteristics and in making more contributions to the enrichment of the country and the prosperity of the people, and ensure that they continually maintain full political zeal and revolutionary spirit. Only in this way will it be possible, in the complex practice of reform and construction, to have the broad number of party members accord with the demands of economic and social development, correctly analyze the various ideological tides in society, correctly handle the various types of problems, consciously resist the corrosion of decadent feudal and capitalist ideologies, clearly resist and oppose the various types of erroneous actions and improper styles, and pass the various stringent tests. Only in this way will we be able to ensure that the broad masses of party members, in their attitude to major issues, will handle matters in accordance with the standards of intraparty political life and the organizational principles of the party, observe discipline and law in a model way, and safeguard the integrity and unity of the party. In brief, only if political nature and party character are firmly manifested in the activities of party members will our party be able to maintain its political vigor and vitality and will it really be able to become the vanguard of the working class. If, intentionally or unintentionally, the ideological, political, and principled nature of party member activities are diluted, weakened, or even eliminated, the political atmosphere within the party will gradually flag; party organization will gradually lose its political vitality and fighting force; normal relationships within the party will gradually be replaced by vulgar and crude connection-seeking, extreme individualism, and so on; various sorts of decadent phenomena and negative elements will gradually spread within the party, and the party organization will gradually become lax and will fall apart. We should maintain full vigilance against this danger and certainly cannot ignore it.

Our party constitution clearly stipulates: "Members of the CPC are vanguard fighters of the Chinese working

class who have a communist consciousness." Thus, Communist Party members have another essential characteristic, that is, they have a high degree of communist consciousness and a consequent great sense of political responsibility and enthusiasm. As far as a Communist Party member is concerned, his advanced model role must undoubtedly be manifested in a positive attitude and outstanding achievements in production and work, as well as in a strong consciousness of political participation in the party's undertakings and in the political enthusiasm and political capacity for action governed by this consciousness. Here, the former is a common characteristic of advanced elements generally, a basic condition which all Communist Party members must have, while the latter is a more important characteristic of members of the political organization constituted by the CPC, and a higher condition than that required of general advanced elements. Further raising the ideological and political nature of party member activities is the most regular and effective basic measure for strengthening the party member consciousness of party members and for raising the communist awareness and capacity for political participation of Communist Party members.

Some people worry that strengthening the political nature of the activities of party members might change these activities into things which are stereotyped and rigid, or things which have the smell of gunpowder and that this will affect the enthusiasm of party members for participating in such activities. This is an unnecessary concern. In the past, when "class struggle was taken as the key link," party member activities certainly did one-sidedly stress the political nature of such activities. They also made political nature a matter of unending criticism and struggle, with the result that people were terrified at even the mention of it. This sort of "political nature," of course, cannot be considered desirable. However, it is also irrational to adopt, on this basis, a negative attitude of detesting politics and to go to the other extreme of abolishing the political nature of party life. Politics is the centralized manifestation of economics, and the Communist Party, regardless of whether it is leading revolution or engaging in construction, cannot be divorced from politics for even a moment. The ideological, political, and principled nature of party life, which manifests the essence of the party and the militant style of the party, must be adhered to at all times. Daring not to speak of politics and fearing to speak of politics are not scientific Marxist attitudes and have nothing in common with the qualities of a Communist Party member.

Actually, political nature does not mean something is rigid and flat, because political life is in itself rich and diverse. Political activities, of course, require a seriousness on the political level, but this only means that they are earnest and principled. It does not mean that they require a stern and stiff expression. Seriousness and the smell of gunpowder do not have an inevitable relationship. What we mean when we stress the ideological, political, and principled nature of party member activities is: 1) They must not be divorced from the central

task of the party or be just ersatz politics. 2) They must not use politics to replace other things or to attack other things. 3) They must not involve brutal struggle or ruthless attacks against comrades. Rather, party member activities should, in content and form, accord with the demands put forward by the essential characteristics of the political organization constituted by the Communist Party and the political mission it must complete. On the formal level, activities of a political nature must constitute the main part. In terms of content, it is necessary to make very conscious efforts to link these activities to overall implementation of the basic line, principles, and policies of the party; realization of the central tasks of the party; strengthening party building; and raising the political consciousness of party members. In terms of organizational guidance, efforts must be made to guide the attention of party members toward the various problems in party and state politics, in economic life, and in social development, and through these activities to raise the political quality and political zeal of party members and strengthen their consciousness of political participation and their capacity for political action. In terms of the style of activities, it is necessary to persist in taking Marxism as the guide, to adhere to the basic standards of intraparty political life, and adhere to the principle of proletarian party character, so that the activities are beneficial in distinguishing right from wrong, in clarifying achievements and transgressions, in establishing a correct atmosphere, and in producing a fine political microclimate. Clearly, such a political nature requires that the vitality be unified organically with a political nature. As long as party member activities strive to manifest this unity, the enthusiasm of the broad number of party members for participating in the activities will be raised.

Stressing adherence to a political nature in party member activities naturally does not exclude the organizing of an appropriate number of other activities, including visits and tours. However, it must be made clear that party member activities are different from mass activities, as the former must have activities of a political nature as their basic aspect. Regardless of what activities the party organization develops, they should make efforts to unify them with the raising of the political consciousness of party members and the raising of their capacity for political action. Only in this way will it be possible to truly raise the quality and level of party member activities.

Whether party member activities can manifest an ideological, political, and principled nature is determined primarily by whether the aims of the activities arranged by the relevant party organization and responsible comrades are clear, whether they can correctly manifest the basic responsibilities of grassroots-level party organizations and the basic functions of party member activities, and whether the functions are realized with a high sense of political responsibility. The party constitution clearly stipulates the eight basic duties of grassroots-level party organizations and all of these stress organizing party

members to achieve the political tasks of the party. Only if grassroots-level party organizations, in accordance with the basic tasks stipulated in the party constitution, organize party member activities in a tight linkage with the key work in each period, will we be able to ensure that party member activities will always have a clear political orientation and will not head down a bypath divorced from politics.

When grassroots-level party organizations engage in party member activities, they must ensure that party members fully carry out their duties and fully manifest and earnestly guide the various rights of party members. Further, the party organizations must earnestly guide the members in actively, positively, and correctly exercising their rights. In the rights given to party members by the party constitution, an extremely important aspect is the right to participate on the political level. This includes the right to participate in discussions on the party's policies, the right to put forward suggestions and proposals on party work, and the right to put forward at party meetings well-grounded criticisms of any party organization or member. If, in party member activities, members can be consciously organized to exercise these rights, not only will the activities have a strong political nature, but they will certainly be vigorous. They will be able to raise the enthusiasm and drive of party members to participate in the activities and will also gradually raise the quality of party member activities. This will play an inestimable role in party work and in party building. Rational suggestions by party members or the masses can revive an enterprise or invigorate a unit, and this fact provides very good proof of this. We can predict that, following the development of the situation and the improvement of the quality of party members, by consciously organizing the party members to play a greater and better role in this respect, we will be able to ensure that Communist Party members will play a vanguard role at a higher level and will ensure that this role manifests an intense spirit of the times. In strengthening the ideological and political nature of party member activities, of course it is very important to stress the exploration of forms which are well received by the broad masses of party members and strive to achieve the best arrangement and unification of form and content. The practice in many areas has proven that, in organizing activities, it is extremely important to distinguish the different characteristics of different levels, different units, and different targets and to seek activity modes which accord with the nature of their work and their essential characteristics. Regardless of what sort of activities are developed, it is extremely important to combine the organizing of party member participation in the activities, and the bringing into play of their roles with the raising of the quality of party members, the strengthening of the fighting spirit of the party organization, and the optimization of the microclimate of the region and the unit. In this way, it will be possible to prevent party member activities from turning into ordinary political activities. If more party organizations actively and seriously engage in exploration, party member activities will

gradually reach new levels in terms of the unity between their ideological, political, and principled nature and their vitality and vigor.

Issues in China's Urban Housing Construction and Reform of Housing System

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[Article by Lin Hanxiong (2657 3352 7160)]

[Text] Since the founding of the Republic, the party and state have paid great attention to solving the housing problem. From 1950 to 1989, in the whole country the gross investment in urban housing construction through various channels amounted to 290 billion yuan while the area of newly built residences was 1.91 billion square meters. By the end of 1989, the actual area of urban residences in the whole country was over 3 billion square meters, of which complete residences [containing, bathroom, kitchen, living area] occupied roughly 35 percent, mixed-brick and brick and wooden residences consisted of 81 percent, and various kinds of new style building structure residences occupied roughly 10 percent. The per capita residence area in 1983 was five square meters, but in 1989 it was further increased to 8.56 square meters, in the urban areas it was 6.8 square meters, and approximately 100 million urban residences had their residential conditions considerably improved.

Since the reform and opening, urban residential construction in our country has entered a state of comprehensive development. From 1979 to 1989, the investments in urban residential construction amounted to over 250 billion yuan, 625 percent of the preceding 30 years, of which capital construction investments on city residential construction amounted to 167.5 billion yuan, 67 percent of the gross investment in residential construction of the same period. Altogether 1.38 billion square meters of residences were newly built, 260 percent of the preceding 30 years. Concurrently, according to the arrangements of the municipal regulations, over 3,500 small residential districts, each with more than 50,000 square meters, were built and over 120 million square meters of dilapidated and dangerous residences were demolished. The state has fixed policies governing technology in residential construction and there has been a general improvement in the regulation, planning, and construction level in residential construction, and residential construction technology has greatly developed. In the construction system, "comprehensive development" as a new style of residential and municipal construction has briskly developed and achieved obvious results. From 1986 to 1989 in the whole country, each year the areas of residences built under the comprehensive development scheme was more than 20 million square meters. In 1989, in cities and towns throughout the country there were 3,269 different kinds of real estate development companies in operation; their gross operational funds amounted to some 38.1 billion yuan and the completed residential area covered more

than 40 million square meters, accounting for 37 percent of the total area of urban residences completed during the year. Comprehensive development has become the direction of development in urban housing construction.

Since the founding of the Republic, particularly in the 10 years of reform and opening, although residential construction has had unprecedented success, it has still failed to meet the demands of the population increase and improved standard of living of the people. In 1989, in the cities alone there were 5.39 million "difficult" households, of which some 470,000 households were of the specially distressed type with a per capita residential area of less than two square meters. This implied that in the cities and towns one-fifth of the population still lacked the necessary improvement in their housing conditions. Hence, how to do a better job in residential construction and reform of the housing system is a matter of great importance with which the masses are deeply concerned. It is also an important matter which governments at various levels need to earnestly settle.

Below we present certain views on solving the urban residents' housing problem, beginning with our country's concrete national conditions:

First, it is necessary to make continuous improvement of the people's housing conditions an important national policy.

Engels said: "People must first solve their eating, drinking, living, and dressing problems before they can turn to their religious, scientific, artistic, and religious pursuits." Social reproduction first of all embodies man's reproduction of himself. If the necessary living quarters are lacking, people can hardly sustain their normal living, much less talk about the creation of material wealth and spiritual wealth. During a comparatively long period from the 1960's to the 1970's, we were affected by the "leftist" ideology and neglected housing construction, and so far this outstanding debt has not been repaid. At present, people of the whole country have basically solved the problem of eating their fill and being dressed warmly and are proceeding in the direction of "small-scale well-being," but, with the gradual improvement in the clothing, food, and communications conditions, the housing problem will ipso facto come to the fore to become a matter of first importance in the people's living. If we can gradually ease off the housing problem with which people are now so much concerned, then society's coefficient of stability can be expanded and our country's reform, open door, and the modernization projects can all develop more smoothly.

Housing construction plays a great promotional role in the development of the economy. People must be able to live comfortably before they can turn to their pursuits with zeal. Continuous improvement in people's housing conditions can arouse people's enthusiasm for production and make them engage in creative labor. Actual practice in our country has shown that, wherever the housing problem has been settled well, the enthusiasm of

staff and workers for production is high and economic development is fast. If the reverse is true, enthusiasm falls and economic development is slow. Certain cities and towns have attached great importance to building residences for the staff members and workers and at the same time fiercely grasped such other municipal construction as waterworks, communications and transport, gas plants, and so forth; and, as a result, the living conditions of the vast masses of residents are improved, their spiritual countenance is refreshed, and the steady upward rising of the economy follows.

Housing construction itself also plays a direct promotional role in economic development. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Residences are constructed to serve the people's livelihood. But the sectors producing means of consumption are also important industrial sectors developing production and increasing income. The concept that engaging in housing construction produces losses must be changed. We should see that the building industry can also make money and is an important industrial sector that can increase the state's revenues and increase accumulation, otherwise it will be impossible to explain why capitalist countries have taken it as one of the three large pillars of support. Therefore, in long-term planning, we must place the building industry in an important position." Comrade Xiaoping's discourse scientifically reveals the innate relationship between the building industry, which includes housing construction, and the various sectors of the national economy. Development of housing construction will effectively push the development of the building materials industry, iron and steel industry, electrical machinery industry, and communications and transport. In particular, under the present economic conditions, strengthening housing construction is important to opening up the market, promoting the recovery and rise of the economy, and solving such other problems as employment and the return flow of money to the treasury.

Second, urban housing construction must be suited to national strength and maintain a rational scale, a suitable degree of development, an equitable standard, and stable development.

At present, China is in the stage of economic improvement and rectification; and it is necessary, concurrently with cutting down unnecessary building projects such as large halls and tall structures, to expedite urban housing construction to ease the difficult living problems of the masses. Doing so will benefit the healthy development of readjustment work and increase the coagulating power of the socialist system. We must continue to display the enthusiasm of the central government, localities, enterprises, and individuals for housing construction, extensively raise and merge funds for housing construction, enliven the real estate business, and further expand the ratio of commercial housing in the comprehensive development of housing.

At the same time, encouragement and support should be given to cooperative housing construction and the establishment of house-building cooperative societies. House building by individuals under the relevant stipulations of the government should also be encouraged. In short, working under the big principle of firmly and determinedly cutting down the investments in fixed assets, we should maintain a rational building scale and growth rate, striving hard to do an even better job in urban housing construction.

China's financial position is now in difficult straits and the state's investment in housing construction cannot be on a large scale while the urban residents' economic income and actual living standard are still not sufficiently high. We should plan meticulously and use well the limited funds at our disposal. First, we should strictly control housing construction standards in the cities and towns. In recent years, because the old housing system has not yet been changed and there has been continuous inflation in the irrational demands for housing, in certain localities the departments have increasingly raised the standards of their housing construction. This trend should be resolutely halted. Concurrently with keeping the standard of housing construction under control, our planning personnel should further display their creative character and make the newly built residences more suitable for use, economical, and attractive. We must devote major efforts to solving the problem of distressed households, particularly the housing problem of those without any living quarters and those in utter distress. We should open up various kinds of channels to relieve the distress, such as developing commercial housing and raising funds from various channels to build low-cost houses for rent or sale to those in distress but who can afford it.

Third, actively and safely pushing housing system reform.

Since last year, leadership comrades in the State Council have issued many directives urging that reform of the housing system be pushed positively and safely. Recently, when visiting Jiangxi Province, Comrade Li Peng pointed out, "At present, there is the following proposition: From now on and for a considerable length of time, in the urban areas the major point is to improve the residents' standard of living by solving the problem of their living quarters. The housing system must be reformed. From now on, the state, the enterprise, and the individual must play a part in raising the funds for housing construction to expedite the construction of cities and towns." The principal measure in the reform of our country's housing system is to rationally readjust the rent of public houses, selling both new and old housing for public use, and encouraging organized housing construction by individuals and the merging and raising of funds for housing construction at the three levels of city, enterprise, and individual. The special feature of the new housing system we will soon establish is to commercialize housing and encourage housing construction by individuals.

For a prolonged period, under the traditional economic structure, our country has adopted the system of the state contracting for the housing of the staff members and workers, thus negating the commercial character of housing. The state has made large investments in housing construction for the urban residents, but the low rental charges have restricted residences from being built in accordance with the law of a commodity economy and have also restricted their circulation and distribution. Not only have existing houses fallen into disrepair, but also the housing construction funds have no way to enter a benign cycle. The more houses that are built, the heavier the state's burden and the more restricted the development of the construction trade and the real estate business.

Unjust housing distribution and the unjust and unfair atmosphere it has caused have become a serious social problem. Just as Comrade Jiang Zemin pointed out, "if the reform of the commercialization of housing is a success, it will help to achieve the benign circulation of housing construction funds and the development of the real estate business and the construction trade and will truly solve the problem of scarce housing. It will also help readjust the consumption and industrial structures and ease the contradiction between social gross supply and gross demand." At the moment, the extent to which housing commercialization can be achieved in China will have to depend on the actual conditions of the various localities. We should focus on the development condition of the markets and the people's ability to suit the measures to local conditions and should not proceed with a rigid attitude. In localities where conditions permit, the steps taken may be slightly larger; whereas the steps should be smaller in localities temporarily not possessing the necessary conditions.

Up to the present, in the whole country over 50 cities and counties have carried out comprehensive reform of the housing system and over 200 cities and counties are carrying out reform of the system on certain specified items. From the actual experiences gained, special notice should be paid to the following two points:

1. Conditions differ in various localities, cities are different from county towns, large and medium-sized cities are different from small towns, and coastal cities are different from inland cities. Over the past 10 years, the basis and conditions of the piloting points in housing reform carried out in various localities have also been different. Hence, we should resort to various means under the principle of the concurrent employment of "renting, selling, and building," start from reality, and suit the measures to the conditions of the time and localities. We may continue raising the rent and issuing sales coupons, "gradually transform renting to selling," and take house-selling as the start, using "selling to replace rent collecting." In short, the reform measure should not be "unchangeable."

2. Reform of the housing system is closely connected to reform of prices, wages, finance, taxation, currency, and

planning. Hence, it is necessary, under the unified leadership of the State Council, to strive hard to make good arrangements for the various coordinating measures of reform, and positively and cautiously conduct the piloting points to eventually go ahead with the reform. In the reform of the housing system, aside from changing the original housing construction structure, extensively raising funds, and building more houses, it is also necessary to solve the matter of distribution, form a rational mechanism, and promote social justice. In recent years, cadres of certain localities have abused their power and built private residences, or occupied a large number of residences, thus impairing the party's and the government's image and negatively affecting the social atmosphere. While using various kinds of power to build and occupy houses may be slightly different from the usual run of economic crimes in the disciplinary regulations, such as bribery, acceptance of bribes, corruption, theft, and pilferage, in reality they belong to the type of using improper tactics and measures to satisfy one's greed and to damage the interest of the state and the public; in fact, some such acts may be correctly classified as corruption and acceptance of bribes. Hence, in the punitive act on corruption, we must stop this evil tendency and really do some good work for the people at large.

Fourth, studying the formulation of the development target of urban housing construction.

In studying the formulation of the development strategy and planning of housing construction, we must first fix the development target and incorporate it into the economic and social development plan of the state and localities.

In the next 10 years, devoting efforts to solving the problem of the "difficult" households is one of the tasks in China's development strategy of socialist housing construction. The initial supposition is: Before 1991, we solved the housing problem of the especially difficult households that literally had no place to live or whose living quarters consisted of less than two square meters of per capita living space; from 1992 to 1993, we should basically solve the housing problem of the difficult households that have a per capita housing space of below three to four square meters; and from 1996 to 2000 we must realize the objective of each household having an economical and comparatively comfortable or perfect residence to illustrate the obvious improvement in housing conditions.

To realize the above-mentioned objective for 2000, the housing construction must be accelerated and generally be divided into two sections: The first section is that, by 1995 (that is, the end of the Eighth Five-Year Plan), it is estimated that the nonagricultural population in the cities and towns will be 260 million, the per capita housing area of urban residents will be 7.5 square meters, the rate of complete residences will be 50 percent, the perfection rate of urban residences will gradually reach 80 percent, and there will be a reduction of 60 percent in

the area of the so-called "dangerous" residences. Computed on this basis, 750 million square meters of housing must be newly built during the Eighth Five-Year Plan, averaging an annual new construction of 150 million square meters of new housing. In the second stage, by 2000, it is estimated that the nonagricultural population in urban areas will be 320 million and the per capita housing area will be around eight square meters, the minimum per capita housing level will be six square meters, the rate of complete residences will be about 80 percent, and basically no dangerous buildings will exist, thus ensuring the residents' housing safety. Computed on this basis, in the Ninth Five-Year Plan, newly built housing will need to be some 900 million square meters, averaging an annual new construction of 180 million square meters, aside from the transformation or rebuilding of about 30 percent of the then existing housing. Generally speaking, the task will be an enormous one.

In order to ensure the realization of the above-mentioned targets, it will be necessary to exert the strength of the whole society to solve the housing problem of the urban residents, and to steadily develop housing construction. Governments in various localities must be based on the strategic target for urban housing conditions to reach the small-scale level of well-being when they formulate the economic and social development plan of their respective localities and formulate the corresponding medium and long-term plans for housing construction development, including plans for the scale of housing construction, investment formation and composition, per capita housing area and utilization area, rate of complete residences, and solution of the housing problems of the difficult households. Furthermore, they should grasp well such other measures as planned birth control and adopt other relevant and effective measures to control the growth rate of the nonagricultural population in urban areas. Only if the governments at various levels and the whole society will jointly devote their efforts, it will be possible to realize the strategic target of urban housing in our country reaching a level of small-scale well-being.

Footnote

1. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 3, p. 574.

Actively Push Forward Reform of Social Security System in Our Country

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[Text] Reform of Social Security System is "Must"

Social security refers to the material aid provided by society to workers who, because of old age, sickness, industrial accident, unemployment, and so forth, have lost their ability to work or are temporarily unable to work. During the more than 40 years since the founding

of the PRC, our government and enterprises each year have spent large amounts of money to develop the social security system. This has played an important role in protecting the basic livelihood of their staff members and workers, promoted production and development, and maintained social stability. Following the rapid development of the socialist planned commodity economy, further reform of the social security system is extremely urgent.

First, reform of the social security system is an important measure to ensure stability among staff and workers, economic stability, and social stability. Social security is the product of socialized large-scale production. In a worker's lifetime, he is bound to meet with such risks as old age, sickness, and so forth. Hence, how to protect the basic livelihood of the workers has become one of the big and important social problems facing modern society. If this problem is not satisfactorily settled, social stability and economic development will be affected. In China, social security is also called labor insurance. The system began in the early 1950's. But during the disturbances of the Great Cultural Revolution, the labor insurance sinking fund system was abolished and if staff and workers had such mishaps as old age, sickness, disease, or crippling injury, the enterprise itself had to make the settlement. Because of economic difficulties, some of the enterprises had to reduce or stop the payment of pension funds; this meant that the basic livelihood of some staff and workers could not be really protected. Since the reform and open door, we have within a definite scope reestablished the system of pension and unemployment insurance sinking funds so as to protect the basic livelihood of staff and workers in their retirement and unemployment periods. This fully demonstrates the superior nature of the socialist system. Today, in the improvement and rectification, enterprises are universally meeting with difficulties. But the retirement expenses of all those who have taken part in the labor departments and organs in the course of reform are under the unified handling of society; and all persons who have been separated or retired have been able to promptly and fully receive their separation or retirement funds. And wherever the system of unemployment insurance is enforced, within a specified scope all people awaiting employment can receive their unemployment insurance funds. Obviously, for society to take unified charge of retirement expenses and the operation of the unemployment insurance system is beneficial to social stability and economic development.

Second, reform of the social security system is an important stage of deepening the reform of the economic structure. In the first place, in the initial stage of our country's socialism, with the long-time coexistence of many kinds of ownership systems, labor force should be able to be rationally allocated and move among units with different ownership systems. Hence, it is necessary to change the narrow scope of the current insurance system and to provide the workers and employees under all other ownership systems than the system of ownership by the whole people with protection of their basic

livelihood through the institution of a sound and healthy social security system. Only by so doing can the enterprises autonomously employ people, can the workers choose employment freely and of their own will, and can the system of many forms of the ownership system achieve healthy development. Next, following the advancement of enterprise reform and readjustment of the economic structure, it is possible that some enterprises may be amalgamated or become bankrupt. In such a case, only through establishment of a social security system that is separate from the enterprises and organized by the government can there be definite protection of the basic livelihood of the workers and can enterprise reform and readjustment of the economic structure progress smoothly. Third, in the reform of the economic structure, enterprises will attain a gradually stronger status as legal persons who can operate autonomously and are solely responsible for their own profits and losses. In market competition they can demand equality. This will require the balanced sharing of the burden of expenses for social security and changing the current condition of the imbalanced bearing of the retirement expenses of the enterprises. In addition, during the transition between the old and new structures, it is possible that the interests of some people will be adversely affected. A relatively well-equipped social security system established through reform can play a role to remove or reduce shocks.

Third, reform of the social security system is a strategic policy to solve the problem of the aging population and realize the "three-step" development of the national economy. At present the size of our separated and retired population is 22 million, which is larger than the whole population of Australia. The number of our old-aged people is roughly 25 percent of the world's population of old people. According to estimates, by the end of this century the number of separated and retired people will be about 35 million, and, by the decade beginning in 2030, we shall reach the peak of aging of the population. At present, according to world standards, the five cities and provinces of Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang are included in the old-aged societies, while in future years more cities and towns will follow the trend. In various countries of the world, aging of the population has brought along a series of problems that are difficult to solve. China has a huge population; we have a weak foundation and the development level of our social productive forces is still very low. Should there be a general phenomenon of an aging population, society's burden will become all the heavier. The coming period of the aging of our population is precisely when we must realize the second step in developing the national economy and the period of our planning for the third step in the strategy. Without sufficient material preparations, the problem of the aging population will become a seriously restrictive factor. Therefore, it is exceedingly necessary that we reform and improve the social security system and start early to accumulate a suitable amount of insurance funds.

In fact, in recent years, there has been much progress made in the reform of the social security system. Since 1984, we have steadily pushed forward the social unified planning work for the retirement funds. At the moment, aside from a small number of border regions, staff members and workers of state-run enterprises have participated in the social general planning of retirement funds within different scopes. The planning has included about 50 million people currently under employment and over 10 million people who have separated or retired, while a small number of localities have advanced their unified planning to the provincial level. In 1986, in coordination with promotion of the labor contracting system, retirement insurance was instituted for workers under the labor contracting system in the whole country and an unemployment insurance system was instituted for staff and workers of state-run enterprises. These two schemes of insurance attracted the participation of 12 million people for the former and 60 million people for the latter. Concurrently, pilot plans were instituted for individual payment of premiums for retirement insurance, birth-control insurance, industrial accident insurance, and medicare insurance. Reform of the social security system has won the support of the broad masses and the recognition of various social circles. However, seen as a whole, the current social security system is still not fully suited to the demands of the development of the planned commodity economy. It must go through a positive and stable deepening of its reform and be continuously improved.

Further Raise the Understanding of Social Security System

Some comrades believe that enforcement of the procedures for raising social security funds is tantamount to "everybody eating from the same big pot" and encouraging "egalitarianism and the indiscriminate transfer of resources and materials." Then there are enterprises which, because they are new and have too many young workers, are unwilling to take part in the social unified planning purely from selfish interests. This explains why it is very necessary to further raise people's understanding of the nature and special features of the social security system.

First, its compulsory nature. Social security is a basic right of workers as prescribed in the Constitution. To ensure the workers realize this right, the state must, through formulation of the social security regulations, compel their enforcement. The NPC [National People's Congress] and the State Council should carry out their obligation to promulgate and put into effect the statutes and regulations on the social security system. Likewise, the state has the same obligation. Units employing people within the prescribed limits of the law and the staff and workers themselves must take part in social insurance and must pay the social security premiums prescribed by law. They cannot choose to participate or not. Those who without reason delay or reject payment of the social security premiums must be subjected to payment of fines or be prosecuted by law. Relevant units

and personnel who abide by the methods of treatment, auditing, and management prescribed by the social security law must dutifully follow the rules in all their actions. This is because no unit, organization, or person has the power to rob the workers of the rights and privileges accorded them by the Constitution. In short, only through the setting up of a set of compulsory measures will it be possible to earnestly protect realization of the rights and privileges in social security enjoyed by the workers.

Second, its mutual-aid nature. The basic method of social insurance is the distribution of labor risks through society making a unified collection and handling of the old age protection insurance funds. Because there is an unequal distribution in society between the enterprises and the localities of people who have retired or suffer from sickness, industrial accident, or unemployment, the burden which they suffer is different. Hence, it is necessary to depend on society's strength to carry out social insurance. Seen from the individual worker himself, in each and every worker's lifetime the number of labor risks and the size of his losses differ greatly from those of other workers. Hence, collective strength must be depended upon in order to do a good job of social insurance. Mutual help enforced by social insurance forms a protective mechanism for both the enterprise and the worker and is also a measure to counter the effects caused by the sudden appearance of incidents. For example, when natural disasters cause serious losses to production, or in the case of economic disruptions caused by readjustment of the economic structure, social insurance can still protect the basic livelihood of the workers. The principle of mutual aid embodied in social insurance is a general method used internationally. In China, the income level of staff and workers is low, the state and the enterprises are both short of funds, and the ability to bear the losses caused by labor risks by both the individual and society is indeed very weak. Hence, it is all the more necessary to centralize limited funds and distribute the labor risks on a relatively wide scale.

Third, its welfare nature. The social insurance fund belongs to the whole body of workers, and is in the nature of "life money" protecting the health and existence of staff and workers. Therefore, the social insurance fund is a special fund for special use and no organ or individual may remove it for other use, nor can it be used to balance national finances. The state does not collect any tax on the social insurance funds. But when, under special conditions, the funds are found to be insufficient, state finances should provide the necessary guarantee. Because social insurance is a public welfare enterprise benefiting the people, it should be in the charge of a non-profitmaking enterprise unit subsidiary to a governmental department. The government should have a fixed responsibility not only in legislation but also in management and in the guarantee of the needed funds. The organization in charge of social insurance should strictly abide by the law to manage well this common property of the workers and strive hard to render good service to the recipients of social insurance funds.

Fourth, its social character. The scope of social insurance is extensive. Its objects include workers of different localities, industries and trades, and economic constituencies. Hence, the number of recipients of social insurance funds is enormous and the scheme itself generates important and extensive effects on political, economic, and social life. For the part of the government, through exercising relevant intervention in social and economic life, it carries out the redistribution of income between parties that have met labor risks and those that have not met such risks, and it thereby fulfills the purpose of protecting the basic livelihood of the workers.

Development of the social insurance enterprise should pay high regard to avoiding the trend of commercializing social insurance. Social insurance is different from commercial insurance in principle. Each has its own special characteristics and functions. The main points differentiating social insurance from commercial insurance are its compulsory, mutual aid, welfare, and social character as mentioned above. The experiences of various countries and the actual practice in China's reform have shown that social insurance cannot be replaced by commercial insurance.

Certain Problems That Need To Be Solved in Current Reform of Social Insurance System

Social insurance reform is related to the intimate interests of hundreds of millions of staff members and workers and their families and is also related to the state and enterprises' ability to bear, as well as readjustment of the interests on various sides. Reform of the social insurance system is based on the following principles: It is capable of protecting the basic living of the workers under special conditions and at the same time must be beneficial to the enterprises' production and development and also to arousing the positivism and enthusiasm of the great masses of workers. In order to correctly handle the relationship between the treatment level or standard of the insurance and production development, on the one hand we must consider the ability to bear on the part of the enterprise and the individual, and on the other hand we must attach importance to reducing the state's burden. In short, in deepening the reform of the social insurance system, concurrent consideration must be given to the interests of the three parties, namely, the state, the enterprise, and the individual. At present, we need to solve the following six problems well:

First, enlarge the operational scope of social insurance. Since enforcement of economic structural reform, rather substantial changes have taken place in the structure of China's ownership system. From 1978 to 1989, the proportion of staff and workers under other kinds of ownership systems besides that of ownership by the whole people has increased from 21.6 percent to 26.4 percent; the number of staff and workers in city and town enterprises has increased from 20.48 million to 35.02 million, and there are 1.32 million staff members and workers employed by private enterprises and Sino-foreign jointly financed enterprises. Besides, in cities and

towns the number of individual workers is some 8.83 million people. All these people may meet with the labor risks of old age, sickness, industrial accidents, and unemployment, and may require protection of their basic living through the social insurance system. If there is no such protection, social stability will be affected and so will production and development. In China, the vigorous development of collective economy, expansion of employment, and encouragement of the development of individual economy and economies under other ownership systems will be a long-term policy. The target of the social insurance system reform is to enable all the staff and workers of city and town enterprises under various systems of ownership and different kinds of labor use to be included in the protection of social insurance and to enjoy the benefit of needed social insurance protection to fully manifest the equal rights and privileges in social insurance endowed by the Constitution on the workers. Hence, the new system should meet the objective demands of being suited to the long-term coexistence of various economic forms and various operational forms, to their mutual infiltration and exchange, and to the working people being able to rationally circulate among enterprises of different ownership systems.

Second, carry out the money-raising pattern of making partial accumulation to set up various kinds of social insurance funds. Social insurance funds are the material foundation for enforcement of the social insurance system. Without social insurance funds, there will be no way to provide material assistance to the workers meeting with labor risks. In recent years, through reform of the social insurance system, we have set up the retirement pension funds and the unemployment insurance funds by having society as a whole raise the funds. 1) This has changed the past system of "enterprise insurance being the sole burden of the enterprise to which the workers concerned belonged." It has rendered definite protection to the workers' living during their retirement or unemployment. 2) It has balanced the burden of the enterprises, reduced the burden on enterprises with large numbers of retired or retiring employees, and strengthened the ability of enterprises to develop production and to engage in just and equal competition. 3) It has enabled society to make comprehensive arrangements for the livelihood problem of people who have retired or are awaiting employment. 4) This is in coordination with pushing enterprise and labor system reforms. These positive functions have maintained social stability and the stable development of the economy and are beneficial to deepening the reform of the economic structure. However, because the scope of the unified merging of funds by society today is different in size in different localities, the scope of the merging of funds is not extensive enough, its socialized degree is not high, and the degree of compulsion is not strong enough; hence, it is necessary that the reform be further deepened, that the method of unified arrangements be standardized, and that the socialized arrangements and merging of funds be gradually extended to the provincial

level. At the same time, birth-control insurance, industrial accident insurance, and medicare insurance should also be gradually incorporated into the unified merging of funds.

Generally speaking, staff members and workers should, during their period of employment, gradually accumulate some funds to meet urgent needs and to meet the needs of retirement and old age. But, because in the past several scores of years in China we did not set up social insurance fund system, we have adopted the method of cash receipt and cash payment for retirement funds and the like. By so doing, it will be difficult to maintain the plan for long. In the past 10 years, expenditures on retirement funds in our country have grown by 1,300 percent, and it is likely that from now on a faster pace of increase will be in store. Once the peak period of aging arrives, the whole society will find it difficult to take up the burden. Hence, in the formation of the social insurance fund there must be an adequate portion of accumulations. Only by so doing will it be possible to have the system itself stabilized and to possess strong protective functions, and, at the same time, definite material preparations can be made to meet the problem of the coming aging of the population. Since China's economic development is imbalanced, the size of the accumulations may be fixed on the general principle that the localities, under the leadership of the state, will decide on the basis of the localities' actual needs and ability to bear. Generally speaking, the accumulation rate should not be set too high, but should be gradually increased following development of the economy and of the social insurance program. There is usually a time lag between the receipt and actual outlay of these funds, and, in the interval, the state, through the banks, may make use of the funds to support production and construction. This is a kind of affair which benefits all sides. Naturally, because of the special nature of the social insurance sinking funds, the state must ensure that the funds are special funds for special use and are readily available. No department (including the labor department) or individual has the power to take it for other use. At the same time, in policy the state should ensure that the value of the funds can be maintained and increased to manifest the government's function of protecting the workers' rights and interests in the social insurance funds.

Third, let the three sides of the state, the enterprise employing the staff and workers, and the individual bear the burden of social insurance expenses. Because the essence of social insurance is coverage of labor risks, expenses should be borne by the various relevant departments. In international practice, expenditures for old age and medical insurances are covered in this way. China's present method of the individual not making any payment at all has many defects. In some localities, this procedure has been reformed and the individual is required to bear a portion of the expenses incurred in old age insurance and medical insurance. The purpose is to have the understanding on social insurance imbued in the minds of the staff members and workers, to increase

the sources of funds for social insurance, and to reduce the burden of the state and of the enterprise. Premium payment by the individual is an obligation for his or her enjoyment of the benefits of social insurance. But, considering the low level of salaries and wages of the staff and workers in China today, in the initial stage of the reform, premium subscriptions by the individual should be low, increasing gradually when and as the general level of salaries and wages climbs higher. However, the state and the enterprises should still bear by far the largest portion of the social insurance expenses.

Fourth, a multilevel social insurance system should be established. Reform of the social insurance system cannot be separated from development of production. It must be suited to the different conditions of different localities, different industries and trades, and different types and categories of enterprises. Hence, establishment of a multilevel social insurance system will satisfy the demands of the various sides. First of all, in the multilevel social insurance system, basic insurance by the state should be the nucleus. It will be enforced by the state by legislation. It must definitely protect the worker's basic old age livelihood and must be suited to the worker's rational demand for rationally moving his abode to different localities, and the basic pension fund should be periodically adjusted following changes in commodity prices, to the end that the retired worker may enjoy the fruits of social development. Next, the enterprise must provide supplementary insurance, that is, based on the enterprise's actual economic strength and carried out according to the provisions of the law, in enterprises with relatively good economic effects, the pension funds of the staff member or worker may be increased to a certain extent over and above the state's basic level. Naturally, reform of this kind cannot be carried out blindly and rashly. In addition, there should also be instituted the individual's savings old age insurance, at his own volition. He may select the insurance company, and the ownership right of the insurance belongs to his own person.

Fifth, strengthen management of the social insurance enterprise. Management of social insurance is a complex form of systematic procedure. 1) It covers many topics, including old age, unemployment, industrial accident, medicare, and so forth. 2) The number of participants in the social insurance system is a large one. It includes staff and workers under different kinds of ownership system as well as individual workers; at present the number is about 150 million people. 3) The management elements are many, including raising and merging funds for social insurance, management, expenses, and outlay, and maintaining a filing system for the staff and workers' social insurance, such as recording, maintenance, inquiries, transfers, and so forth. 4) Socialized management and modernized management measures must be enforced, including issuance of social security numbers, use of computers in computation, and setting up a figures storage house; the procedures involved are indeed many and complex. Therefore, China should set

up a social insurance management organ of a specialized nature to reinforce leadership strength in this connection. At present, the labor department has already set up over 2,700 special management and control organs for social insurance, and there are over 20,000 people and cadres specially handling management work. From now on, it is necessary to further strengthen the basic organization, such as setting up a social insurance statistical and financial system, a social insurance budgetary and final accounting system, and an auditing system, as well as strengthening the training of specialized personnel.

Sixth, step up social insurance legislation. The special features of compulsion and mutual aid in social insurance have determined that social insurance be enforced by government legislation. All the elements of social insurance, such as sinking funds, treatment, eligibility requirements, management, and so forth, must be governed by legislation. Through the nearly 40 years of the enforcement of labor insurance and the actual practice in the recent reform of the social insurance system, China has accumulated many successful experiences. We should now expedite the legislative steps and, beginning with old age insurance and unemployment insurance, gradually extend to sickness, industrial accidents, and other kinds of social insurance, formulate a complete and perfect set of laws for the protection of the interests of the entire body of workers, promotion of economic development, and ensurance of social stability.

Reviewing *A Course in Norms of Public Servants' Conduct*

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[Text] To standardize government functionaries' conduct in performing public duties, to form a good image for public servants so they remain loyal to the party and the state, to preserve the government's reputation, to exercise effective management over state affairs, and to improve work efficiency in government departments, with the approval of the Ministry of Personnel, the broadcast and television education center of this ministry instructed some relevant experts and academics to compile a book, entitled *A Course in Norms of Public Servants' Conduct*. This book has been published by the Hunan Science and Technology Publishing House. This is the first book which explains the norms of government functionaries' conduct in China. It has been designated as teaching material by the Ministry of Personnel. This serves as a basis for implementation of the public service system.

Socialist modernization necessitates the formation of the public service system in China, which is the outcome of personnel system reform. The public service system, formed under Comrade Deng Xiaoping's guidelines for personnel system reform, conforms with the four cardinal principles, the principle of the party exercising

management over cadres, the criteria to judge cadres' ability and political integrity, and China's actual conditions. It has inherited and developed the fine tradition of the party and the state in personnel work and has assimilated the experience in personnel system reform. It is a scientific management system for government functionaries. The public service system encompasses the norms governing public servants' conduct. These norms are basic rules for government functionaries to observe in performing their public duties, principles governing their activities, work procedures for them, and administrative discipline for them. All public servants are required to seriously and strictly follow these norms. No government functionary is allowed to violate these norms, no matter what their position and subordination. These conduct norms serve as legal provisions, documents, and criteria for public servants to obey. State administrative departments should follow these norms in exercising strict management over public servants, and the public can also exercise supervision over them according to these norms. In this way, omnidirectional restrictions on public servants can be carried out, the public service system can be implemented in an all-around way, administration and management can proceed effectively, and the relations between the party and the masses, and the government and the masses, will become closer.

What comprises the norms of conduct? This is determined by public servants' duties and responsibilities. They include rules governing public servants' collective and individual conduct, rules governing general and specific conduct, and rules for general observation and special conduct in all departments. This book explains the norms for all public servants to follow in their individual behavior. For example, the norms for political conduct particularly require public servants to adhere to the four cardinal principles, to remain loyal to the party and the government, and to remain in unison with the party politically, ideologically, and practically. They are not allowed to join or organize any form of illegal demonstration, parade, or antigovernment activity or to spread remarks and comments that run counter to the party's line, principles, and policies. This

is very important to ensuring the government's stability and the country's prolonged tranquility. Other aspects of these norms are useful to improving public servants' professional work, physical condition, and mental status.

This book takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as theoretical guidance, follows the four cardinal principles, proceeds from the actual conditions of the country and government functionaries, abides by the law governing administrative activities, combines theory with practice in line with existing law and regulations, integrates inheritance and learning, and gives expression to our national character and the features of our age. The expressions and words used in this book are simple, concise, and easy for public servants to understand and follow. This book is rich in content, practical in form, complete in system, and strict in logic. It is a good book for government functionaries to expand their knowledge, to improve their ability, and to purify their ideology. It serves as teaching material for ideological and political education, for forming public servants' mentality, for rectifying malpractices in offices, for propagating the public service system, and for training government functionaries.

In the past, central and local government organs did not have unified norms for government functionaries to go by in performing their public duties. Under the Influence of bourgeois liberalization, uncivilized and discourteous behavior has appeared in government departments. This behavior, which does not conform with our requirements, has ruined our office style, harmed party and government reputation, and affected work efficiency. Following the publication of the book *A Course in Norms of Public Servants' Conduct*, the Ministry of Personnel provided training for public servants. This has played a positive role in changing the above situation.

Chinese public servants have lofty duties to undertake, and being public servants is glorious. We hope that all cadres and public servants will seriously study this book, improve their quality, and become key forces in the great cause of socialist construction. We also sincerely wish that more civilians will read this book so they will become promoters and supervisors for the implementation of these norms.

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